A Translation of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*

THE HISTORY OF THE

Buddha's Relic Shrine

STEPHEN C. BERKWITZ

THE HISTORY OF THE BUDDHA'S RELIC SHRINE

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A Translation of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*
Stephen C. Berkwitz

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Dedicated with my deep appreciation and respect to
Professor W. S. Karunatillaḳe and Professor G. D. Wijayawardhana

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The production of *The History of the Buddha's Relic Shrine*, from the initial translation through its publication, was a long process that depended on the kind assistance and encouragement of many people. This work grew out of doctoral research that I conducted in Sri Lanka between 1995 and 1997 under the auspices of a Fulbright Junior Fellowship and the University of Kelaniya, which served as my host institution at that time. Tissa Jayatilaka of the U.S.-S.L. Fulbright Commission was instrumental in facilitating the arrangements that allowed me to spend many months in Sri Lanka learning to read Classical Sinhala one page at a time. I was extremely fortunate to have been assigned to work with Professor W. S. Karunatillake at Kelaniya, who generously committed to working with me for several months and provided invaluable encouragement and support with this project. My good fortune continued when Professor G. D. Wijayawardhana agreed to assist me with my work. I undertook this translation under the guidance of these two professors, although I am solely responsible for any errors or deficiencies herein. Both professors are truly extraordinary scholars and wonderful human beings. I feel a tremendous amount of gratitude to them for opening up the rich corpus of classical Sinhala literature to me.

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The publication process has been long, but ultimately worthwhile. Preparing a complete English translation of a lengthy, thirteenth-century Sinhala history is not easy, especially since there are precious few conventions and standards to use. And given the limited familiarity with this literature in the West, it was not easy finding a publisher. Thus I am extremely grateful to Cynthia Read at Oxford University Press for her interest, patience, and support concerning this work. Working with Cynthia, Julia TerMaat, Linda Donnelly, Margaret Case, and many others at OUP has been a delightful experience. Likewise, I owe a great deal of thanks to Mark Csikszentmihalyi, former editor of the American Academy of Religion's Texts and Translations Series and the person who first expressed interest in my work and then shepherded it through the review process. The anonymous reviewers of my translation devoted their time to going through my manuscript and making numerous suggestions for its improvement. I wish to thank them for committing themselves to the often thankless job of reviewing a book manuscript.

Brill Academic Publishers, the publisher of my book *Buddhist History in the Vernacular: The Power of the Past in Late Medieval Sri Laṅka* (2004), generously allowed me to reproduce many quotations here that also appear in my book-length study of Buddhist history writing as a form of religious and ethical practice. In this earlier work, I analyze and theorize about the writing of historical narratives in Sri Lankan Buddhism. Although some of the arguments from *Buddhist History in the Vernacular* appear in the introduction to this translation, I encourage readers to consult this work in its entirety to see how I interpret works such as the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*.

Finally, as always, I wish to acknowledge my family and friends for believing in me and not questioning my sanity while I dedicated many years to the task of reading and translating Sinhala texts. My wife, Imali, has been a constant and invaluable source of encouragement, while my

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NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

Although I consulted a number of printed editions of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, I have relied primarily on the recent edition prepared by W. S. Karunatillake. My inspection of over two dozen manuscript editions of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* has led me to conclude that producing a translation from such works would be impractical and no more accurate, since such manuscripts date back no further than about two or three centuries, and many of them are filled with scribal errors and variants that appear mostly in spellings rather than substantial details. Since Sinhala versions of paracanonical texts were not bound by the same close attention to accurate transmission as the texts of the Pāli Canon, some innovation and alterations inevitably appear between editions. A reader is likely to find different spellings for names and words; indeed, sometimes in the very same text. I have retained many of these variations, so the reader will find proper names and technical terms that alternate between Sanskrit, Pāli and Sinhala versions. The edition by Karunatillake was chosen for its reliability and the fact that it contains some acknowledgment of the variants among other modern printed editions.

Since there is no standard version or original manuscript left that could be treated as authoritative, I have attempted to compensate for this lack by comparing several modern editions to check for variations or omissions. Although this method may seem unsatisfying to the critical

reader, it is nevertheless consistent with the ways that premodern Sri Lankan Buddhists encountered these texts—as works with fluid boundaries that were subject to continual revision as they were copied by hand and sometimes condensed into shorter excerpts in ad hoc anthologies of diverse texts bound together in one manuscript. In short, in an environment where critical editions were virtually unknown, the use of a single text for reading and editing was fairly typical.

Another challenge I face with this work is the absence of universal standards or accepted conventions in the translation of Sinhala works. The relative paucity of English translations of medieval Sinhala texts has prevented the development of a common critical apparatus upon which I could base my work. (Three notable exceptions include *Jewels of the Doctrine* and *Portraits of Buddhist Women*, which present selected stories from the thirteen-century *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* in English, by Ranjini Obeyesekere, as well as Udaya Meddegama's translation of the *Anāgatavaṃsa Desanā*.) As one might expect in a South Asian Prakrit language, many Sinhala words are polysemantic and bear the varied impressions of Buddhist technical terms, Sanskrit poetics, and overlapping etymologies that together conspire to make precise translations difficult. However, rather than leaving important Sinhala texts to wallow in obscurity, I have striven to translate Parākrama's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* in as accurate and consistent manner as possible. It is hoped that in time, as more Sinhala works are translated into Western languages, new conventions and a critical apparatus will emerge to guide those who will produce translations in the coming years.

The major interests guiding my translation of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* reflect my desire to convey something of both the style and meaning of Parākrama's text. Although the ornate style of Sanskritized Sinhala prose from the thirteenth century can make for some awkward and lengthy English sentences, I have tried to retain occasional traces of the grandiloquence with which Parākrama crafted his historical narrative. Nevertheless, I have taken the liberty of rewording and rearranging some particularly complex sentences to render a translation that is more comprehensible and that adheres more to the conventions of idiomatic English. The balance between retaining style and preserving meaning may not always be achieved, but I feel that this tension is a productive one that ultimately contributes to a translation that manages to transmit a semblance of both the style and meaning of the original work.

Readers should also note that I have reorganized the text into clearly marked chapters of fairly consistent lengths. This decision to divide the text into chapters that highlight certain events marks a departure from more traditional forms of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*. Early modern manuscript editions typically lack chapter headings altogether. Although there are some instances where the text clearly identifies certain sections in the narrative by stating that such-and-such an account is finished, this practice is inconsistently done and would result in chapters ranging wildly in length from just a few paragraphs to several dozen pages. As a compromise, I have included the concluding statements where they appear in the text, but I have not always used them to mark out chapters. My defense for this decision is that adding chapters is like adding punctuation. There are limited traces of either in traditional Sinhala palm-leaf manuscripts, but it is useful to add them to a translation so that modern English speakers may read and use this work more easily.

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THE HISTORY OF THE BUDDHA'S RELIC SHRINE

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INTRODUCTION

The *Vaṃsa* Tradition in Theravāda Buddhism

In the latter part of the thirteenth century, a lay scholar named Parākrama Paṇḍita composed a text that is little known in the West, but that is recognizable and influential in the Theravāda Buddhist community of Sri Lanka. Parākrama's work is often referred to as the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* or simply the *Thūpavaṃsaya*, but the former title is preferred here so that this work may be easily distinguished from a Pāli work of a similar nature called the *Thūpavaṃsa*, which was composed around the twelfth or thirteenth century CE. As the name implies, this late medieval text was composed in the language of Sinhala, a language native only to the island of Sri Lanka but derived from the Indo-Aryan language family of India, albeit with numerous Tamil language borrowings. Broadly speaking, the subject of Parākrama's work is the Buddhist cult of relics as historically practiced in the Theravāda tradition of Sri Lanka. More specifically, however, the text deals with a revered, 120-foot *stūpa* or relic shrine called by various names—such as the Mahāthūpa (Great Relic Shrine), Ruvanväli Sāya (Relic Shrine of Golden Sand), and Ratnamāli Dāgäba (Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands)—that is still standing in the northern Sri Lankan city of Anurādhapura. This relic shrine was built in approximately the second century BCE, but it remains an

important focal point for the sacred geography of the island and for contemporary expressions of Sri Lankan Buddhist devotional practice.

In order to understand the significance of this text and the relic shrine it describes, it would be helpful first to place Parākrama's work within broader literary developments in Theravāda Buddhism. The class of historical writings known as *vaṃsa*s, that is to say chronicles or histories, comprises an important and sizable genre of Theravāda Buddhist literature. Scholars recognize that such texts were produced from an early date in the history of Buddhism, with the oldest extant example being the *Dīpavaṃsa* from around the fourth century CE. It is fair to say that Theravāda Buddhists have maintained a long-standing interest in these types of texts, as Buddhist histories concerning a variety of subjects have been produced and copied in fits and starts up to the present day in Theravāda communities. Western scholars have also shown considerable interest in these works. Many orientalist and colonial researchers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries eagerly translated and read Buddhist *vaṃsa*s, and these texts were among the earliest subjects of modern Indological research. This was probably because Buddhist *vaṃsa*s contained literary accounts of past kings and historical events connected with several archaeological remains that were found in India and Sri Lanka, which at the time was called Ceylon by the British.

Scholars preoccupied with reconstructing the ancient history of the Indian subcontinent have consistently affirmed the historical value of these texts. Heinz Bechert, a notable German Indologist, writes to this effect, "[I]t cannot be doubted that the only early historical literature within the realm of South Asian culture which ever has existed is that of Ceylon, and that historical writing in the strict sense of the word did start on the subcontinent only after the first Muslim invasions had disturbed the traditional establishment of Indian life and culture."[1] The privileged status ascribed to Buddhist *vaṃsa*s as "historical" literature turned works like the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* into prized historical documents. In contrast to the Hindu *purāṇa*s, the epic tales of Hindu gods and goddesses, the Theravāda *vaṃsa*s were believed to contain narratives that were more factual and realistic since they tend to deal with historical figures and places. However, even the alleged historicity of the *vaṃsa*s did not prevent scholars from cautioning others against accepting everything in their narratives as factual. In discussing the historical value of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Wilhelm Geiger asserted the need for researchers to

read such works with a critical eye. In commenting on the tendencies of *vaṃsa*s to embellish the historical record with fantastic and legendary accounts, he wrote, "Whoever writes the history of Ceylon will have to separate the real kernel of fact from this traditional material."[2] Geiger and other historians who consulted Buddhist *vaṃsa*s for historical information emphasized the need for scholars to employ the historical-critical method for evaluating one's sources in order to reconstruct an accurate picture of the past as it really happened.

Although one cannot deny that Buddhist *vaṃsa*s are useful for historical research into the South Asian past, it will be become clear below that works like the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* show us that Buddhist history writing reflects a variety of interests and purposes. The various concerns informing Buddhist historiography stem, in part, from the fact that such writings grew out of an ancient literary tradition. The Pāli commentaries, or Aṭṭhakathās, are said to have been based upon older literary sources written in an ancient form of the Sinhala language, as well as other Prakrit sources. Tradition holds that commentaries on the Tipiṭaka, or the Theravāda Buddhist canon said to comprise the Buddha's word, were brought from India to Laṅkā by the monk Mahinda (Sinhala: Mihiṅdu) around the third century BCE. The significant additions made to those texts in the island include accounts of the establishment of Buddhism locally. These commentaries are widely believed to have contained the narratives from which later *vaṃsa* texts were composed.

A number of these commentaries, which are no longer extant, are mentioned in the *Vaṃsaṭṭhappakāsanī*, the commentary written on the *Mahāvaṃsa* sometime around the eighth or ninth century CE. The works mentioned include the *Dīpavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* (The Commentary on the History of the Island), the *Cetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* (The Commentary on the History of the Relic Shrine), and the *Mahābodhivaṃsaṭṭhakathā* (The Commentary on the History of the Bodhi Tree), among several others. G. P. Malalasekera holds that these ancient sources were used in composing later Pāli historical works on the same subjects. He points out, for example, that the author of the *Vaṃsaṭṭhappakāsanī* advises readers to consult the *Cetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* for information regarding what was deposited in the Great Relic Shrine, or Mahāthūpa.[3] Not coincidentally, the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* also provides a detailed description of the offerings deposited in the shrine. As such, he concludes that this ancient commentary was one of the sources used to compile the Pāli version of the history of the Great Relic Shrine.

Other textual antecedents for *vaṃsa*s that were composed by Theravāda Buddhists include the extant Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts written by Buddhaghosa and others during the fifth and sixth centuries CE. These works are traditionally held to have been based upon many of the same Sinhala Aṭṭhakathā composed around the beginning of the Common Era in the island of Laṅkā. But since these Pāli works have survived, we are able to trace some accounts of the Buddha's life story and the transfer of his relics from India to Laṅkā that appear in later *vaṃsa*s back to these commentaries. For instance, the lengthy historical narrative that opens the *Samantapāsādikā*, the commentary on the Vinaya written by Buddhaghosa, contains an account of the lineage of monks who transmitted the Buddha's teaching as well as descriptions of events surrounding the establishment of Buddhism in Laṅkā. Parts of this narrative were reiterated by works like the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* afterward. Likewise, the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* and the *Madhuraṭṭhavilāsinī*, the commentaries on the *Jātaka* and *Buddhavaṃsa*, respectively, include accounts related to the Buddha's career that occasionally appear in later *vaṃsas*.

The precise development of this early historiographical tradition in Theravāda, however, remains fairly speculative. We have reason to believe that later *vaṃsa*s adopted material from earlier commentaries in Sinhala, Pāli, and Dravidian languages, but it is likely that these narratives were substantially revised as they were rewritten in later centuries. The *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, the earliest works included in the *vaṃsa* genre, probably reflect transitional works in this historiographical tradition, as they comprise works of verse that deal with allegedly historical events at the expense of commentary on the Tipiṭaka. Of these two works, the *Mahāvaṃsa* has been singled out for its accomplished composition and its rich content. Composed in the latter part of the fifth or early sixth century, the *Mahāvaṃsa* traces the lineage of kings in Laṅkā and records the good deeds they performed to promote the Buddha's Dispensation (*sāsana*). Significantly, the *Mahāvaṃsa* was extended several times in typical chronicle style by authors who added to its original chapters in the twelfth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Its open-ended style and lack of a single narrative plot is indicative of the "chronicle" style of historical writing, and it may be for this reason that scholars have typically referred to *vaṃsa*s as "chronicles" despite the fact that the Pāli term is better translated as "lineage." It is noteworthy that although later *vaṃsa*s frequently cite material from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, most of them depart

from the chronicle style of writing and are therefore better known as histories, inasmuch as they aspire toward narrativity and contain a well-marked beginning, middle, and end.[4]

Several centuries later, Buddhist histories written in the Pāli language about one or another relics of the Buddha were composed. These relic *vaṃsa*s, which tended to be more narrowly circumscribed in terms of subjects than the expansive coverage found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, represent a new stage in the writing of Buddhist history in Theravāda. Works like the tenth-century *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, the twelfth-century *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, and the *Thūpavaṃsa* focused their attention on the arrival of the Buddha's relics in Laṅkā. Thus, important sites and objects of veneration including the Bodhi Tree in Anurādhapura, the Tooth Relic, and the Mahāthūpa, in which a sizable portion of the Buddha's bodily relics were said to have been enshrined, become the primary subjects of these medieval texts. Although the authors of these works often consulted the *Mahāvaṃsa*, they in no way relied on it exclusively for adducing material to fill out their own narratives. Other sources of written and perhaps even oral traditions provided additional information.

Later during the same period of literary production in Sri Lanka, authors began to translate and compose new *vaṃsa*s in the Sinhala language, making them more accessible to local audiences. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is probably the first such work to be rendered into a literary form of the local Sinhala vernacular. This work, which most scholars date to the latter half of the thirteenth century, advanced the development of Sinhala literature and inaugurated a trend whereby other authors translated various Pāli *vaṃsa*s into Sinhala. Thus, in the fourteenth century, Buddhist authors composed texts such as the *Sinhala Bōdhivaṃsa*, the *Daḷadā Sirita*, and the *Sinhala Dhātuvaṃsa*, among others, for the sake of relating the histories of the Bodhi Tree, the Tooth Relic, and Forehead Bone Relic to broader and more localized audiences in Laṅkā.[5]

It is important to note that several Sri Lankan *vaṃsa*s and their historiographical conventions were also spread to peninsular Southeast Asia into countries known today as Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. There is ample evidence, for instance, that the *Mahāvaṃsa* was transmitted to Southeast Asian lands where Theravāda was adopted. Other Pāli histories such as the *Thūpavaṃsa* and *Dhātuvaṃsa* were also transmitted to these lands, so that elements of their narratives likewise found their way into local Buddhist histories. A good example of this

borrowing of historiographical content and form is seen in the *Jinakālamālī*. This Buddhist historical narrative was composed in Thailand during the sixteenth century and borrows liberally from Sri Lankan works such as *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa*, and *Thūpavaṃsa*.[6] As such, this later Pāli text from Thailand represents an historiographical method whereby local historical events were added to older Sri Lankan accounts of kings and relics. Such literary activity resulted in a fairly coherent Theravāda tradition of history writing that forged conceptual and sometimes institutional links between Buddhist communities in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. Of course, like their Sri Lankan counterparts, Buddhists in Southeast Asia employed various strategies to make their histories reflect local concerns and interests, domesticating the historical narratives they received by emphasizing native heroes and a local topography marked by shrines and monasteries found closer to home.

Locating the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*

Parākrama Paṇḍita's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* occupies an important position in the *vaṃsa* tradition of Theravāda Buddhism. This work represents an early effort to narrate the establishment of Buddhism in Laṅkā in a literary dialect of the vernacular. As such, this work maintains a somewhat ambiguous and complicated relationship with the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* composed by a monk called Vācissara Thera a few generations earlier. Although people once thought that Parākrama Paṇḍita's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* predates Vācissara's Pāli version, since the latter makes reference to an older edition composed in the language of "Sīhaḷa," most scholars now conclude that Parākrama's version reflects a later expansion upon the extant Pāli text. N. A. Jayawickrama makes a persuasive argument on the basis of a combination of internal and external evidence in favor of dating Vācissara, the author of the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*, between roughly 1236 and 1270 CE, whereas Parākrama Paṇḍita's text probably appeared a generation or two later, in the latter half of the thirteenth century.[7] The difficulty in dating both of these texts stems in part from the fact that we know relatively little about their respective authors. The colophon of the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* suggests that its author worked in the royal library during King Parākramabāhu II's reign and composed a few other Buddhist works in both Pāli and Sinhala. The original colophon in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* does

little more than mention the name of Parākrama Paṇḍita along with the honorary title Sakala Vidyācakravarti, which means the Wheel-Turner of All Knowledge.

Nevertheless, the decision to assign a later date to the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is justified in part by the fact that Parākrama's work contains a surplus of material that is not found in Vācissara's Pāli text, although it obviously borrowed the plot and much description from the Pāli version.[8] As such, Parākrama's text fits the pattern wherein older Pāli narratives were translated into Sinhala between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, an era when the production of written works in the Sinhala language overshadowed the writing of Pāli texts in Sri Lanka. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* elaborates substantially upon certain sections of Vācissara's text, while sticking closely to other parts of its narrative. Both *Thūpavaṃsa*s, however, employ prose narratives that expand upon details found in the terse poetic style of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Vācissara added to the *Mahāvaṃsa*'s record of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's career and the construction of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura. Many of his additions come from Pāli material lifted from the *Samantapāsādikā* and adapted from other sources such as the canonical Mahaparinibbāna Sutta. Parākrama's Sinhala version continued the trend of elaborating upon older narrative traditions, as it embellishes the historical accounts even further, illustrating a tendency among Sinhala works beginning from around the thirteenth century to imitate the ornate style and poetic sensibilities of Sanskrit works. At the same time, this move also made classical literature more accessible to local Sinhala-speaking audiences, transforming a technical Sanskritic style into an idiom that approached the vernacular language.

Although we are unable to date the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* more precisely than the latter part of the thirteenth century, we do know at least that Parākrama Paṇḍita was a layperson rather than a monk.[9] This information comes chiefly from brief remarks in the late fourteenth-century *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* and the sixteenth-century *Rājaratnākaraya*. This first work recalls the history of the Buddhist Sangha in Sri Lanka. The author of this text also lists the names of famous lay scholars (*gṛhasthapaṇḍita janayō*) who produced various treatises on the Dharma.[10] The eighth of the nine lay authors mentioned here is Parākrama Paṇḍita. The *Rājaratnākaraya* also includes a similar list of scholars (*paṇḍitavaru*) that follows a separate list of monastic authors and mentions Parākrama Paṇḍita by name.[11] This evidence, along with the title by which he identifies himself, suggests that he

was a learned scholar who might have had some connection to a royal court, although this cannot be definitively shown.

Unfortunately, we have yet to find other information that could help us in identifying Parākrama Paṇḍita further. We can at least dispel a theory once held, which claimed that our author was the same person as Vidyācakravarti, the author of *Butsaraṇa*. Wimal Balagalle has refuted this by pointing out the stylistic differences between *Butsaraṇa* and the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, even though the author of the latter evidently borrowed some material from the former in composing its narrative.[12] For his part, Ananda Kulasuriya notes that the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* contains noticeably more infelicities of style when compared to Vidyācakravarti's *Butsaraṇa*, and that the words *sakala vidyācakravarti* refer to an honorary title rather than a personal name.[13] Ven. Welivitiye Sorata also argues that differences in the language used in the two works point to two different authors.[14] In sum, we may safely deduce that the "Vidyācakravarti" appearing before the name of Parākrama Paṇḍita in the colophon signifies a title he claimed, perhaps in imitation of the esteemed author of *Butsaraṇa*, which served as a kind of paradigmatic work for subsequent Sinhala prose works.

Other questionable theories about the identity of Parākrama Paṇḍita attempt to associate him with certain learned kings in medieval Sri Lanka. To complicate matters, there is a handful of kings from this period who were nicknamed *paṇḍita* due to their erudition. An earlier scholar wrote that one such king named Vijayabāhu II (r. 1186–1187), or Paṇḍita Vijayabāhu, was Parākrama Paṇḍita. However, this view has been discredited, since there is no evidence that this king had ever been called Parākrama and the language of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* resembles thirteenth-century works more than twelfth-century Sinhala compositions.[15] An argument could be made that King Parākramabāhu II (r. 1236–1270), also known as Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu I, was the author of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*. This king was celebrated as a great patron of learning and authored works such as the Sinhala poem *Kavsiḷumiṇa* and the *Viśuddhimārga Sannaya*. Again, however, there is no evidence for identifying this king with Parākrama Paṇḍita. The king identifies himself in verse 770 of *Kavsiḷumiṇia* as "King Kalilkal Säväṇi," which appears to have been his title.[16] There is no comparable reference to a royal author in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, nor is there any mention of other works composed by the same author that could link him with Parākramabāhu II. It is

entirely possible, however, that Parākrama Paṇḍita was one of the many scholars supported directly or indirectly by that king's sponsorship of learning and letters during his reign. To identify our author with King Parākramabāhu IV (r. 1302–1326), or "Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu II," is also likely mistaken, even though this king was a patron of works such as *Daḷadā Sirita* and may have initiated the translation of the Pāli *Jātaṅa* into Sinhala. Sinhala prose works in the early fourteenth century typically display a more marked Sanskrit influence and, unlike those other works mentioned above, there is no clear indication that this king either wrote or sponsored the writing of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*.

If the person of Parākrama Paṇḍita remains largely a mystery, the historical context behind the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is equally obscure due to the gaps in our historical knowledge of late medieval Sri Lanka more generally. The period of time between the fall of the Sinhala kingdom in Polonnaruwa in the early part of the thirteenth century and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 is under-researched, with most scholars of Sri Lankan history choosing to focus either on the ancient glories of the northern capitals or the later influences of European colonialism. Consequently, our understanding of the period in which the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* was composed is incomplete. The fact that this period was characterized by shifting centers of political power and comparable weakness in Sinhala kingship also contributes to the relative lack of historical knowledge about this era.

Although one cannot be completely sure about the context behind the composition and transmission of Parākrama's text, the major challenges faced by medieval Sinhala polities offer some clues for understanding why the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* was produced. First, a conqueror named Māgha from the Kaliṅga country in India invaded Laṅkā with an army from the Malabar region around 1215. Having deposed the king at the time, Māgha ruled the northern region of the island up to his death in 1255. Buddhist literature records that during this time, Māgha and his soldiers terrorized the people of Laṅkā, destroying monasteries and books on the one hand, and repressing and stealing wealth from the island's inhabitants on the other hand.[17] Even if these accounts of an aggressive non-Buddhist invader are somewhat exaggerated, it seems safe to conclude that there was a massive displacement of material and intellectual resources in Lankan Buddhist communities in this period. The disunity among Sinhala chieftains in the southern and western parts of the island

negated attempts to resist and expel the invaders in the north. This woeful state of affairs limited the amount of patronage that the Sinhala rulers could give to the Sangha. And even after Māgha's death, internal revolt and political intrigue prevented any single Sinhala leader from commanding the loyalties of the majority of the island's inhabitants, at least until the fifteenth century.

It is against this backdrop that the writing of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* appears as an attempt to imagine and bring a new social formation into being. Rather than assuming that historical narratives are always written by the "winners" of history and function to legitimate the elite powers of the day, we may hypothesize that the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* was a text designed in part to rectify a problematic present situation and unite a broader population through a shared language and historical inheritance.[18] It is possible that Parākrama's descriptions of powerful Buddhist kings and a populace united in their devotion to the Triple Gem of Buddhism were nostalgic recollections of a past that stood in stark contrast from the island's then-current state of affairs. We know, for instance, that by 1262 the Great Relic Shrine in Anurādhapura had fallen into disrepair, like many other ancient shrines in the old capital, and that efforts were being made to restore the shrine around the same time that the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* was composed.[19]

The descriptions of a Buddhist community united in its esteem for the Buddha's Dispensation and its proclivity to engage in large-scale communal acts of devotion under the leadership of pious kings evinces an imagined, rhetorical ideal that could be used to mobilize a larger collectivity of Sinhala-speaking Buddhists in the island. Although we cannot be sure of the motives that informed the production and dissemination of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* in medieval Sri Lanka, it stands to reason that the writing of a glorious past in a literary dialect of the vernacular coincided with efforts to reorganize the Sinhala kingdom in the midst of an emergent culture, wherein new social and political identities were being formed in response to the historical exigencies of the time.[20]

Nevertheless, it is well known that literary accounts of the building of the Great Relic Shrine in Sri Lanka were sometimes read aloud on ceremonial occasions. An inscription in the stone courtyard of the Great Relic Shrine from the second year of Queen Kalyāṇavatī's reign (1202–1208) describes a great gift of alms given by a noble minister at the site of the relic shrine. Among the detailed list of objects offered to the shrine,

we learn that the *Thūpavaṁśa* was read aloud during the ritual offerings that were made at that time.[21] It is probable that the text read at this occasion was not Parākrama's version but an earlier Sinhala account of the traditional narrative describing the origins of the shrine. This particular text may have been instead the Sinhala work mentioned by Vācissara in the prologue to his Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*.[22] What is most significant about this inscription, however, is that it confirms that historical narratives akin to Parākrama's text had ritual associations and public lives as works in which sections or even a few folios could be recited aloud to groups and not only read by solitary individuals. The fact that many of the Buddhist histories written in the medieval period of Sri Lankan history are concerned with one or more relics of the Buddha—including the Tooth Relic, the Bodhi Tree Relic, the Forehead Bone Relic, the Footprint Relic, and the bodily relics enshrined in the Great Relic Shrine—supports this connection made between historical narrative and ritual practice in Theravāda Buddhism.

The Buddhist Cult of Relics

Parākrama Paṇḍita's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* represents a text that deals primarily with the Buddhist cult of relics as traditionally practiced in Sri Lanka. Recent scholarship has shown that practices of enshrining and venerating objects associated with the historical Buddha are ancient and widespread throughout the Buddhist world. Whereas earlier generations of Buddhologists often ignored or derided relic veneration as superstitious and extraneous to the moral teachings of the Dharma, scholars now write with more interest and tolerance for Buddhist relics. Archeological research in India supports the view that the earliest material evidence of the Buddhist tradition is directly linked with the cult of relic veneration, a cult observed at least as far back as the time of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (c. 270–230 BCE), if not before.[23] It therefore seems that Buddhist devotees began venerating a range of relics associated with the Buddha shortly after his death, which scholars believe occured sometime between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE. Parākrama Paṇḍita's text is of value here, since it offers some explanation as to why and how relics of the Buddha were traditionally venerated.

Theravāda Buddhism has traditionally employed a threefold classification in discussing relics. This system divides relics into bodily relics or

the corporeal remains of the Buddha (and sometimes of enlightened monks called *arahant*s), relics of use or objects believed to have been used by the Buddha when he was alive, and commemorative relics or images made of the Buddha after his death. This classification has led to circumstances in which numerous relics of the Buddha have been attested to throughout Asia. Although there is plenty of evidence for relics as objects of esteem and desire in countries other than Sri Lanka, the *vaṃsa* literature supplies ample textual referents to the importance of the relic cult in Sri Lankan Buddhism. For instance, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* highlights the deposit of an eighth of the Buddha's corporeal remains in what it calls the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands (Sinhala: Ruvanmäli Dāgäba) in Anurādhapura. The history of the Bodhi Tree, considered a relic of use, is detailed in the Pāli and Sinhala versions of the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*. These and several other *vaṃsa*s are significant for their representations of the events and veneration of particular relics of the Buddha said to have been obtained by ancient kings and enshrined in the island.

While the Buddhist cult of relics in Sri Lanka has been exceptionally well described and highlighted in several *vaṃsa*s, relic veneration there shares several similarities with the worship of relics in other lands. Relics of the Buddha are frequently believed to possess miraculous powers and attributes, and may be venerated for both worldly and otherworldly ends. In Japan, for instance, relics came to be associated early on with apotropaic powers for protecting the imperial family and the state.[24] Generally speaking, monarchs in largely Buddhist lands could reinforce their image as devout rulers by public displays of *stūpa* building and ceremonies honoring relics in their possession, which served to legitimate their power and authority in society. Indeed, legendary accounts of King Aśoka's construction of 84,000 relic shrines throughout his reign testify to both his piety and his attempt to make visible his authority throughout the empire.

At the same time, relic veneration in Buddhism is intimately linked with acts of merit (*puṇyakarma*), whereby people who venerate objects associated with the historical Buddha may expect to earn some good fortune in the future for a sincere display of devotion in the present. According to the logic of Theravāda, even though the historical Buddha passed away from this world into an unconditioned, transmundane state called *parinirvāṇa*, which is held to be totally beyond the realm of repeated rebirth known as *saṃsāra* in Indic thought, a person may give devotional

offerings (*pūjā*) of items such as flowers and incense or even make simple gestures of respect to relics and receive something beneficial in return. The benefits thought to come from venerating relics are not the result of any intervention on the part of the Buddha, but rather are taken to be the results of the well-intentioned, well-performed act itself through the impersonal karmic workings of cause and effect. In other words, the Buddhist theory of *karma* (Pāli: *kamma*) affirms that certain wholesome actions will inevitably produce good effects sometime in the future. The unripened consequences of good *karma* are also known as "merit," which constitutes one of the desired ends to which many Buddhist practitioners aspire when venerating relics.

As a Buddhist goal, merit is exceedingly popular throughout all Buddhist communities in Asia. Deliberate acts of moral righteousness and devotion are routinely performed by people of all backgrounds in the expectation that they will earn merit and benefit from their actions in their present lifetime or a future rebirth. From the Theravāda perspective, merit gained from venerating relics or any other such act can be conducive to good health and good fortune in the present, and it may even help to effect a good rebirth in the future. However, strictly speaking, it cannot help one to achieve nirvana—the total extinction of suffering and rebirth—as only selfless, morally wholesome conduct such as that which is found in higher states of meditation is conducive to the ultimate transcendence of desire and ignorance to a blissful, indescribable state. Nevertheless, meritorious acts may still set the stage for spiritual progress at a later time, as such acts are sometimes held to purify a person's mind and reinforce morality, both of which are accomplishments that serve to bring people closer to nirvana.

Parākrama's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is a work that extols acts of merit performed at relic shrines. As such, its narrative encourages relic veneration, while tending to ignore the practice of meditation and austere living associated with forest monks in the tradition. However, it would be misleading to conclude that this work was therefore a text directed only to the laity. Gregory Schopen has convincingly shown that monastic participation in the relic cult appears in the earliest eras. He finds evidence in ancient inscriptions from the earliest *stūpa*s that monks actively participated in the construction and worship of relic shrines.[25] The view affirming monastic involvement in relic veneration is substantiated further in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*'s accounts of monks who fashioned and

donated bricks to build the Great Relic Shrine. Parākrama's text asserts that monks have many appropriate roles to play in the construction and veneration of relic shrines. As such, it intervenes in medieval debates over the proper duties of monks and suggests that even "forest-dwelling" monks who spend the greater part of their time in meditation should also actively support and participate in the relic cult.

According to the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, there are various reasons for Buddhist practitioners to venerate relics. Since such acts are defined as meritorious, it is in a person's own interest to make offerings with a focused and composed mind. At many points the text explicitly spells out the benefits of venerating relics of the Buddha, making it nearly impossible for a reader or listener of the text to overlook the merit gained from doing so. The text also reinforces scholarly arguments which hold that relics function to make a Buddha, who is absent from the world, materially present for devotees who wish to honor him and experience his power.[26] Although it remains to be seen whether the Buddha's passing away in nirvana actually constitutes a "problem" for Buddhists that is overcome through the presence of his relics, as some have claimed, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* ascribes to relics miraculous powers to take the form of the Buddha and, equates relics to the living Buddha in other ways. In one account, for instance, the monk Mihiňdu requests a king to obtain relics in order to satisfy his wish to "see" the Buddha. Another reason for venerating relics in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is to fulfill one's obligations to the historical Buddha. Devotees are obliged to act out of indebtedness to the Buddha for his unlimited giving and self-sacrifice on behalf of all sentient beings.[27] Parākrama's text highlights this moral obligation to show gratitude as a beneficiary of the Buddha's past acts and turns relic veneration into an ethical practice, an idea that is discussed in more detail below.

In sum, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* provides us with important insights into the multivalent significance of the Buddhist relic cult. We learn that relics were popular focal points for Buddhist devotion, giving rise to sometimes elaborate ritual activity performed in honor of the Buddha. We also see how kings such as Aśoka and Duṭugämuṇu employed relics to display their power and piety. The text also portrays Buddhist relics as instruments for spreading the Buddhist religion to new lands and defining local landscapes with centers of devotional activity and sacred power. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* depicts in vivid detail how relics are used, in John S. Strong's words, to express and extend the "life-and-death story" of the Buddha, connecting

durable physical objects of veneration to specific incidents in the Buddha's biography while continuing to spread his presence to new locales long after his death.[28] Numerous other texts address and exemplify the Buddhist relic cult, but the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is additionally important since it appears to be the oldest extant text composed in a literary form of a vernacular language to emphasize relics and their associated practices in Theravāda Buddhism. This notion suggests that Parākrama's text may have coincided with, or even helped to inaugurate, the beginnings of a medieval upsurge of interest and activity in the Buddhist relic cult in Sri Lanka.

Writing History in a Local Language

The question of language choice in literary production and the ways in which different languages were conceptually linked or distinguished from each other are fruitful areas for examining the cultural significance of textuality in communities where bilingualism and trilingualism were the norm. Sheldon Pollock's work examining the various entailments of producing literature in cosmopolitan versus vernacular languages has been particularly productive in this regard. Pollock contrasts the "transportability" of Sanskrit literary culture, which represented a universalizing order of culture and power directed toward an unlimited audience that stretches across many lands, with various South Asian vernacular literary cultures, which renounced the larger world for more localized polities.[29] Whereas works written in languages such as Sanskrit and Pāli were produced with an awareness that they could be disseminated throughout a larger world wherein these languages were in currency among elites, vernacular writing was content with targeting a more geographically bounded audience.

Pollock persuasively argues that the decision to produce literature in local languages, a choice made with increasing frequency in southern Asia between 1000 and 1500 CE, signaled attempts to fashion new forms of communities. The use of a local language to communicate through literature reflects a move toward generating local cultures and identities for the sake of ordering societies and polities in new ways.[30] Pollock's analysis is helpful for reminding us that the choice to write in a local, vernacular dialect is not as innocent or natural as it may sometimes seem. Rather, the production of local literatures signals important transitions in

the cultural histories of social communities. The appearance of local-language texts may thus reflect efforts to imagine and bring new groups into being. From this perspective, Parākrama Paṇḍita's translation of the *Thūpavaṃsa* into Sinhala marks an important event in the medieval effort to constitute an islandwide Buddhist identity through representing history in a local language.

The importance of Parākrama's text derives in part from the scholarly consensus that identifies it as the earliest "translation" of a Pāli chronicle into Sinhala during the vernacularization of Sri Lankan Buddhist literature after the twelfth century.[31] The style of writing employed by Parākrama Paṇḍita resembles what is found in other thirteenth-century prose works such as *Butsaraṇa* and *Pūjāvaliya*. Scholars have dated most of the other extant Sinhala *vaṃsa*s, however, to the fourteenth century on the basis of both textual evidence and the more pronounced Sanskrit style of their compositions. Inasmuch as we can rely on the dates commonly assigned to the early examples of Sinhala prose, it is possible to see Parākrama Paṇḍita's text as a model that inaugurated the composition of other Sinhala histories concerning particular relics of the Buddha. Thus, after the appearance of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, the Pāli *Mahabodhivaṃsa* was rendered into Sinhala in the fourteenth century. Kakusandha's *Sinhala Dhātuvaṃsa*, which narrated the story of the Buddha's Forehead Bone Relic, also appears during the same century. And two works that drew upon the Pāli *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* to reconstruct a Sinhala prose narrative of the Buddha's Tooth Relic, the *Daḷadā Sirita* and the *Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya*, were likewise composed at this time. This preponderance of history writing in a local language suggests that these texts marked attempts to invoke new social and political formations at a time when older ones were falling apart.

In rewriting the "History of the Buddha's Relic Shrine" into Sinhala, Parākrama Paṇḍita added several distinctive features to what is found in the older Pāli account. His text can be said to exemplify the paradox of translation, wherein a translator at once pays homage to the original text yet transforms it into a new work that reflects the translator's own voice and cultural location.[32] Parākrama based his *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* on received Pāli narratives, particularly the *Thūpavaṃsa*, but he did not hesitate to craft an account with original flourishes of literary expression. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is thereby representative of several larger trends in Sinhala prose writing of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Most

notably, we see evidence of where the Sinhala account incorporates various conventions associated with Sanskrit aesthetics, such as ornate imagery, poetic phrases, and a "Sanskritized" Sinhala vocabulary.

A comparison of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* and Vācissara's text underscores the willingness Parākrama displayed to deviate from received Pāli narratives in significant ways. On numerous occasions Parākrama asserted the freedom to emend and elaborate upon Pāli material found in the *Thūpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa*, and other authoritative texts. The degree to which one finds new versions and descriptions of historical events testifies to Parākrama's decision to revise the historical record in his narrative. In general, several of the scenes related by the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* are more embellished and descriptive than in the corresponding Pāli accounts. A clear example of the liberty with which Parākrama rewrote traditional narratives is seen in the section on the Buddha's life story. Parākrama's account of the Buddha's life and Bodhisattva career, during which he is said to have cultivated the Ten Perfections (*pāramīs*), is more than three times as long, roughly speaking, as Vācissara's treatment. In Parākrama's account, we find a detailed description of the events surrounding the Buddha's Awakening, including a lengthy discussion of how Siddhārtha defeats Māra, the God of Death, when the latter attempts to prevent him from attaining liberation from *saṃsāra*.

The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* displays a somewhat conservative manner of composition, wherein material found in other texts was compiled to form a new narrative. Vācissara's text regularly lifts out verse quotations and even lengthy prose passages from other Pāli texts such as the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Samantapāsādikā*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, and the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.[33] This makes the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* fairly derivative or, in B. C. Law's opinion, "dull and monotonous" due to its stereotyped and conventional manner of expression.[34] In the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, however, the mechanics of translation effectively permitted Parākrama to compose a new narrative while rendering older Pāli materials into Sinhala. Certain sections of his text, such as the accounts of Kung Duṭugämuṇu's battles against the south Indian invader's fortifications in Laṅkā, are often just as concise as Vācissara's accounts. Yet other events in the narrative have become enriched by vivid descriptions and supplementary passages to create stories that could capture the interest of broader audiences that sought entertainment as well as instruction. In sum, the production of local language histories permitted authors to stray occasionally from authoritative Pāli accounts for the sake of

composing texts that could be more affective and suggestive for the people who read and listened to them.

The artistic license claimed by Parākrama resulted in an alternative version of the history surrounding the Great Relic Shrine at Anurādhapura. His *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* is marked by features that reveal an interest in revivifying, not just recording, the past. By attempting to bring the past back to life, as it were, Parākrama models a form of Buddhist historiography that was directed toward showing how the past continues to impinge upon the present. Among the techniques used to make the past seem more immediate to a contemporary audience, Parākrama employed various aesthetic conventions borrowed from Sanskrit poetics. Among the poetic interpolations contained in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, we can identify places where serial similes, conventional tropes, and vivid descriptions of the natural world are used to embellish Parākrama's narrative. Thus, for example, in describing women who try to tempt the Buddha or Bodhisattva, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* often presents lengthy passages wherein the various features of the women's bodies are sensually compared to various flowers, plants, and other stock images to accentuate their physical attractiveness. The extended use of poetic flourishes and figurative language to describe characters and landscapes is reminiscent of the ornate *kāvya* style and functions to make the historical narrative more evocative, like poetry.

The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* exhibits another feature that sets it apart from the Pāli version. Parākrama's text frequently employs dialogical and monological speech, often supplying quotations fabricated to enliven scenes in the narrative. Once again, Vācissara's Pāli text usually sticks closely to its sources, preferring to "cut and paste" narrative material found elsewhere. The spoken exchanges in the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* tend to be concise and straightforward. Parākrama, on the other hand, shows little hesitation in embellishing his account with lively exchanges and reflective monologues that supplement the often terse statements found in the Pāli version. A notable example of this is found in the section where the mythical, snakelike *nāga*s come to lodge a complaint against the monks who had recently taken some relics of the Buddha away from them. The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* recalls their lamentation in a few simple sentences.[35] The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, however, focuses on this dramatic moment to insert impassioned pleas of grief into the mouths of the *nāga*s. These snakelike beings, who were prominent in ancient Indic mythology, are depicted as woefully asserting that the

Buddha had compassion for all beings including them, and that they too benefit from venerating him. The *nāga*s' evocative words are used to make a persuasive argument that eventually convinces the monks to return a portion of the Buddha's relics to them. Moreover, this account also exemplifies the Sinhala text's tendency to elaborate upon spoken words in the narrative. Whereas the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* often simply resorts to quoting from the *Mahāvaṃsa* to fill in dialogue, Parākrama displays a preference for utilizing grandiloquent statements in Sinhala to express sentiments in a markedly more affective way.

The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* shows us that writing history in a local language invited authors to employ interjections and other forms of spoken dialogue in their narratives. We can deduce that such additions to Buddhist histories were largely motivated by stylistic considerations, since the oral presentation of Sinhala narratives would have encouraged embellishments mimicking the forms of spoken speech. On a number of occasions, Parākrama inserts statements of direct speech in places where the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* simply offers indirect, third-person narration. On some occasions, such changes are minor and do not add anything substantially different from what is found in the Pāli version. In other parts, however, the novel use of quotations permits Parākrama to elaborate considerably upon the comparable account in the Pāli version. The scene of the *nāga*s' lament mentioned above is one example of the kinds of innovations found in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*. Elsewhere, the Sinhala account of why the young prince Gämuṇu becomes known as Wicked Gämuṇu includes the petulant and colorful rejoinder of a son unhappy with his father's reluctance to make war. In many instances, the liberal and novel use of quotation in the Sinhala text serves to incorporate elements of spoken speech that transforms the account into a more dramatic retelling that is well suited for oral recitations.

Such comments and interjections in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* also work to captivate the interest and attention of an audience, making the narrative seem more realistic due to the presence of material rendered in dialogical form. In this way, history written in a local language appears designed to attract readers and listeners with a more lively narrative than that found in the corresponding Pāli text. Evidence of such concerns is also seen in the insertion of rhetorical questions into the Sinhala text. On numerous occasions we find short interrogative adverbs introducing brief asides made to the audience. The narrator often asks, "How was that?"

and then launches into a lengthy description to answer the question just posed. Such interjections reflect rhetorical techniques to startle the audience and draw their attention back to the narrative. On other occasions, the rhetorical questions employed by the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* focus the audience's attention upon a specific detail in the story. For example, in the midst of describing how King Ajāśatru was venerating the relics he acquired, the narrator suddenly exclaims: "How many days did King Ajāsat, who was making offerings to the relics and conducting them to his city in this manner, conduct them? They were conducted for seven months and seven days."[36] By inserting a rhetorical question into the narrative, the text simultaneously emphasizes a particular "fact" while making the audience temporarily assume the role of interlocutors. Whether or not the audience is given a chance to reply, the strategy of posing questions in the narrative has the effect of making readers and listeners aware of themselves, spurring reflection and participation in narrating past events.

The above innovations in form and content in Parākrama Paṇḍita's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* account for a narrative that is considerably longer and more detailed than that found in Vācissara's Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*. As such, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* displays some important features of Theravāda Buddhist historiography written in a local language. The decision to use Sinhala as the primary language of historical writing led to the creation of, in effect, a new text organized around a more vivid and linguistically complex narrative. Such Sinhala "translations" of Pāli texts often make use of Sinhala prose as well as some Pāli quotations, while frequently combining ornate description with more realistic dialogue. The end result is a text motivated by slightly different interests, sometimes sacrificing strict adherence to the accounts of authoritative Pāli sources in order to craft a work that was better equipped to delight and transform a local audience of Buddhist monastics and laypersons alike.

The Ethics of Buddhist Historiography

Many of the distinctive characteristics of Parākrama's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* underscore some of the ethical interests behind the writing of premodern Buddhist histories. In contrast to those scholars who have read the Theravāda *vaṃsa* literature as documents for reconstructing the past as it

really was or as mythic charters for legitimating an ideology for Buddhist statehood, we can detect in this work some distinctly different concerns motivating the production and transmission of historical narratives. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* allows one to see how historical narrative could be fashioned to make readers and listeners feel that past events have had a significant and direct impact upon their present lives and future destinies. Parākrama's text may thus function as a case study for examining how Buddhist historiography could be used to generate habits of thought, structures of feeling, and modes of action that effect changes in the world outside the text. By seeking to transform the ways people think, feel, and act with respect to what allegedly happened in the past, this text demonstrates how history and ethics were once part of a related project to fashion people into a community of "virtuous persons" obliged to venerate the Buddha's relics in shrines across Sri Lanka.[37]

The practical interests in producing and disseminating Buddhist histories appear to be to transform the audiences of texts into persons who are conditioned by knowledge of the past to partake in meritorious acts of rejoicing in what the Buddha did through ritualized *pūjā*. According to the logic of the text, such acts are performed out of gratitude for how the Buddha and other virtuous agents in the past have made it possible for people in the present to attain desired Buddhist felicities such as long life, good rebirths, and nirvana. Several *vaṃsa*s express similar goals, both within their texts and in the colophons written by authors and scribes. A close reading of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, however, goes a long way to show how such aims could be accomplished in encounters with historical narratives. A crucial point is that Buddhist authors like Parākrama Paṇḍita did not write histories merely to record the past for posterity. Rather they composed and compiled accounts to remember and revivify the past, making it seem as if events that happened long ago continue to benefit people's lives in the present.

The ability of a text like the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* to be conducive to the attainment of merit and the development of a moral subjectivity was closely linked with its ability to generate ethically productive emotions in an audience. The history Parākrama relates in his text highlights generalized emotional states such as serene joy (*prasāda*) and pious confidence (*śraddhā*), which are celebrated attributes of the characters in the narrative as well as the implied readers and listeners of the text. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* repeatedly suggests that virtuous persons, or *satpuruṣa*s,

are those who feel wholesome emotions in response to encounters with the "Triple Gem" or "Three Jewels" of Buddhism, namely, the Buddha, the Dharma or his Teaching, and the Sangha, or the community of monks and nuns. Virtuous persons are said to give rise to morally beneficial emotions while performing even the simplest acts of merit. Accordingly, whenever the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* inserts brief remarks on the emotional states of characters from the past, it indicates that a person's feelings can determine the moral quality of his or her deeds. Moral exemplars in this text such as King Aśoka and King Duṭugämuṇu (Pāli: Duṭṭhagāmaṇī) are routinely portrayed as feeling "happy" or "serenely joyful" as they set about to perform acts of merit. In this sense, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* suggests that the ideal Buddhist devotees delight in honoring the Buddha and adhering to his teachings.

The focus on the emotional states of characters within the narrative is matched by the text's apparent interest in generating analogous emotions in its audience. The ethical transformations prefigured by premodern Buddhist histories are rooted in efforts to instill certain emotions in those who encounter their narratives. At times, overt statements directed to the reader by the narrator affirms how such and such an account "was composed for the serene joy of virtuous persons." Elsewhere, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* crafts its narrative in such a way as to prefigure feelings of happiness and gratitude in its readers and listeners for what happened in the past. Once again, the interpolations that Parākrama has made to received Pāli narratives illustrate his attempts to elaborate upon historical events in emotive ways, stirring his audience to participate in the narration of the past in a more personal and immediate fashion. Like the characters mentioned in the narrative who feel joy in encounters with relics of the Buddha and pious confidence in the prospect of benefiting from what other virtuous agents have done previously, readers and listeners of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* are expected to celebrate their good fortune for having learned how they stand to benefit from what the Buddha and others once did for them.

Parākrama's accounts of how the Bodhisattva suffered innumerable sacrifices in order to become Gautama Buddha in the present age illustrate a means in which ethically productive emotions may be generated by a text. It should come as no surprise that one of the most embellished sections in Parākrama's text is the account of the Buddha's previous lives as a *bodhisattva*. Narrative accounts in which it is said that the Bodhisattva

made incredible sacrifices for all beings portray the deep compassion and care that led the Buddha to teach the Dharma for the welfare of the many. The text illustrates this commitment by, among other things, portraying how the Buddha and, before him, the Bodhisattva articulated the deeply felt need to rescue all beings from the dangers of rebirth in *saṃsāra*, even if it means denying himself and his immediate family happiness. Such comments on the painful decision to renounce one's family and lay life demonstrate that the Buddha and Bodhisattva underwent numerous trials to accomplish the welfare of the world. Such accounts reinforce the devotional stance that the Buddha sacrificed the things dearest to himself—his family, parts of his body, and even his life—to help other beings gain release from *saṃsāra*. Depicted as a parent who puts the interests of one's children before oneself, the Bodhisattva and, by extension, the Buddha, are cast as benefactors to whom all beings, or their "children," are obliged to feel grateful.[38]

The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* gives additional emphasis to the efforts made by the Buddha over innumerable lifetimes to attain his Awakening and work for the welfare of the world. The considerable attention that the text gives to the Buddha's career as a *bodhisattva* is understandable, given what this idea underscores about an ethics of care, which the Buddha comes to embody here and in other medieval Theravāda texts from Sri Lanka. In this sense, the celebration of generalized emotions such as serene joy and gratitude, feelings that are not restricted to the sensory experiences of an individual, amounts to a call for recognizing that one has been cared for by the Buddha and other virtuous agents in the past. The great joy that various kings and other individuals are said to have felt as a result of venerating the relics of the Buddha and recalling what the Buddha did is, at once, a description of the past and a glimpse of the response anticipated in the readers and listeners of the narrative.

Reports of predictions about the future in Parākrama's narrative make up a particularly important means for instilling the feeling that one has been cared for by others. Theravāda Buddhist thought has long maintained that beings who attain the highest wisdom (*sambodhi*), namely, Buddhas and *arahant*s, acquire the "Divine Eye," which allows them to see into the past and future without obstruction. This particular quality justifies the insertion of various predictions made by Buddhas and highly attained monks in the text. When those beings who can allegedly see into the future make predictions on what various people will do decades,

centuries, and even eons later, the text's audience is persuaded to view their present lives as dependent to some extent on the past. One crucial prediction in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* deals with the Buddha anticipating the needs of his devotees after his death.

> Because our Buddha did not remain for much time, desiring the welfare of the world and thinking, "My Dispensation has not been spread everywhere. Taking the relics that measure even a mustard seed from me when I have passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, making relic shrines in the places where people dwell, and enshrining the relics in caskets, the many beings who make offerings will enjoy the happiness of the divine world, the *brahmā* world, and the human world," he thus made a resolution for the dispersal of the relics.[39]

The narrative asserts that even while the Buddha was alive, he foresaw the needs of later devotees and arranged for his bodily relics to be spread to various lands for beings to venerate. In other words, this prediction portrays the dispersal of his relics as something he preordained in order to supply the world with a means to earn merit and attain worldly and world-transcending felicities. It is partly because the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* claims that virtuous agents such as the Buddha intentionally worked for the welfare of future generations, undertaking acts in conjunction with predictions made about their future results, that readers and listeners of the text could be expected to feel joy and gratitude for having been anticipated and cared for by others.

Such predictions serve to move the narrative along, linking past acts with subsequent effects to lend a sense of purpose to the diachronic movement of Buddhist history. Moreover, when these predictions are put into the mouths of the Buddha and various enlightened monks, they create certain obligations in those said to be the beneficiaries of past events. Like the Buddhist kings who delight in reports that they have been foreseen by others in the past and who, consequently, feel compelled to reciprocate for the care and assistance they have received, the implied readers and listeners of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* were likewise assumed to feel implicated in past events and obliged to respond accordingly. Parākrama's text therefore displays something critically important about the motives associated with Buddhist historiography in premodern Sri Lanka. To the degree that historical narratives work to link the present with the past through the purposeful acts of enlightened beings, Buddhist histories

created obligations for people to venerate those who facilitated their efforts to enjoy more comforts in the present and future. By drawing explicit connections between the past acts of the Buddha and the ability of present-day devotees to attain good rebirths and nirvana, texts like the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* encouraged both relic veneration and ethical reflection among its readers and listeners.

It thus appears that Parākrama Paṇḍita composed a more elaborate narrative by retelling select past events for the sake of making his audience feel both grateful and obligated to great beings in the past. This potential ethical transformation was made possible inasmuch as historical narratives demonstrate how latter-day audiences were affected by and subject to what the Buddha and others had done earlier. Thus, this work moves in a direction away from earlier canonical Pāli texts that highlight individual moral agency and responsibility—themes that resurface again in many modernist interpretations of Buddhism in Asia and the West.[40] Whereas statements in texts such as the *Dhammapada* and *Sutta Nipāta* affirm the virtues of individual effort and the purification of the mind through disciplined meditation, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* prefers to concentrate on the relationships that people in the present have with beings in the past—relationships that are both devotional and ethical. As such, Parākrama's text works to fashion a moral subjectivity wherein readers and listeners are made to feel that they have been acted upon by others in the past and provided with the necessary tools to attain worldly comforts, heavenly rebirths, and liberation from *saṃsāra*. With its more vivid and elaborate narrative, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* exemplifies how Buddhist histories could be composed and disseminated to fashion new realities in the present, making readers and listeners more virtuous as a result of making them feel dependent on the past and obligated to acknowledge the help they have received from past actors.

The Contents of the "History of the Buddha's Relic Shrine"

Parākrama Paṇḍita's *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* generally follows the same plot found in Vācissara's Pāli version. The action starts in the ancient land of Jambudvīpa (India; Sinhala: Daṁbadiva), wherein the ascetic Sumedha aspires to become a Buddha in the future, thereby setting in motion a series

of lifetimes that culminate in the Awakening of Gautama Buddha. Many medieval Sri Lankan *vaṃsa*s typically begin with at least a brief recounting of the Buddha's life, starting with his *bodhisattva* career. Parākrama imitates this convention, but greatly elaborates upon the brief account in Vācissara's text. The vow Sumedha makes before the former Buddha Dīpaṅkara is followed by a series of predictions whereby subsequent Buddhas encounter the Bodhisattva and confirm that he will one day become a Buddha named Gautama. And the text's focus on relics is anticipated by remarks regarding the fate of the bodily relics of all the previous Buddhas.

The next section of the text deals with the life story of Siddhārtha Gautama, beginning with his penultimate rebirth as a god in the Tuṣita heaven. After having chosen the manner and timing of his rebirth into the human realm, Siddhārtha is born to Queen Mahāmāyā in the midst of many miraculous events in nature that signify the birth of a Great Being. Siddhārtha's upbringing and eventual renunciation is recounted quickly in the text, before the narrative lingers over his acceptance of a gift of milk-rice and his monumental confrontation with the God of Death named Māra. These events are among the most ornately written descriptions in the entire text. A highlight here is the personification of the Bodhisattva's Ten Perfections as warriors who come to Siddhārtha's aid to fend off the battalions in Māra's army. Each Perfection-Warrior begins by recounting a particular Jātaka tale that signifies how the Bodhisattva cultivated the virtue specific to him, and then expresses his obligation to serve the Bodhisattva as he chases away some of the demons in Māra's army.

Thereupon, Siddhārtha attains complete Buddhahood, fends off the amorous advances of Māra's daughters who make several futile attempts to seduce him, and decides to preach the Dharma he has discovered to others. However, the material devoted to his career as the Buddha is subsumed in a longer, more detailed account of his funeral and the dispersal of his relics. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* identifies the seven relics that were not scattered into smaller pieces—namely, the four Tooth Relics, the two Collar Bone Relics, and the Forehead Bone Relic—thus substantiating analogous traditions wherein the Buddha's tooth, right collar bone, and forehead bone are said to have been enshrined in Laṅkā. The dispersal of the relics is arranged by a determined resolution made by the Buddha before he dies. His devotee King Ajātaśatru subsequently shows great

veneration and care for the portion of the Buddha's bodily relics that he acquires. The text also asserts that the king collected most of the relics and deposited them in a single relic shrine to protect them from enemies.

The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* goes on to describe King Aśoka's service to the Buddha's Dispensation. As in many Theravāda texts, Aśoka is depicted as a pious follower of the Buddha who devotes great energy and resources to spread relics and the Dharma throughout his empire and beyond. His conversion to Buddhism comes about after having observed a well-composed novice monk, and the king later tracks down the relic deposit of Ajātaśatru and builds 84,000 relic shrines throughout Jambudvīpa. The next section concerns the ordination of the king's son and daughter as Buddhist monastics. The son Mihiṅdu becomes an *arahant*, and he later leads a small group of Buddhist monks to the island of Laṅkā in order to spread the Buddha's Dharma. The story of Mihiṅdu serves as a point of transition, whereupon the focus of the text shifts to Sri Lanka proper. At this point, we are introduced to King Devanapātis (Pāli: Devānampiya-tissa), who established the institutional support for promoting the Buddha's teaching in the island. At the request of Mihiṅdu, the king arranges for the building of the Thūpārāma relic shrine to house the Buddha's Right Collar Bone Relic. The miracles that accompany this act are then followed by an account of how a sapling from the Bodhi Tree, under which the Buddha sat during his Awakening (or Enlightenment), is transported by Aśoka's daughter Saṅghamitrā and enshrined in Laṅkā.

The final major section of Parākrama's work is devoted to the life and work of King Duṭugämuṇu. This narrative section, the longest in the text, depicts this king as a virtuous lay devotee for whom service to the Triple Gem is of paramount concern. The story begins with a short tale describing how his father, King Kāvantissa, meets his mother, Queen Vihāramahādēvī, after she had been cast adrift at sea by her father to appease the gods. Duṭugämuṇu is born, along with his younger brother Tissa, to the pair in the southern kingdom of Ruhuṇu. However, at this time, south Indian (Demaḷa) invaders rule the northern part of the island under King Eḷāra, including the territory where the first relic shrines were built. The impetuous Duṭugämuṇu seeks to do battle with the Demaḷas, and finally gets his chance when he ascends the throne after the death of his father and a temporary conflict with his brother. He leads an army that includes ten great warriors into battle on the back of a

magnificent elephant. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* goes on to describe his military victories, highlighting his acts of pious devotion to the Triple Gem, until he defeats the invaders once and for all. An important account regarding the moral crisis Duṭugämuṇu experiences as a result of having killed so many people is resolved in a way that deviates from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, as the king learns that the accumulation of his meritorious deeds will prevent the negative results of killing from coming to fruition.[41]

After gaining sovereignty over the entire island, Duṭugämuṇu turns his attention toward building a large monastic residence for the Sangha and the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands (Pāli: Mahāthūpa) in Anurādhapura. The text extols these acts of merit and reinforces the virtue of such deeds by noting how *arahant*s and deities lent their assistance to the king. Furthermore, the accounts wherein the materials used for building the Great Relic Shrine was obtained highlights the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*'s close attention to specific geographical locations in the island. Several villages, rivers, and tanks are mentioned by name with reference to the miraculous discoveries of the precious metals and jewels used in the construction of the shrine. The text gives, a lengthy description of the offerings left in the relic chamber of the *dāgäba* (Pāli: *thūpa*; Skt.: *stūpa*) and recounts a story of how a later king was magically brought inside the shrine to view the offerings left by Duṭugämuṇu generations earlier. Then we learn how the relics were obtained for the shrine in Anurādhapura. The text narrates how a novice monk took the relics away from the subterranean kingdom of the *nāga*s. After the *nāga*s pursue the novice, they make an impassioned plea to have at least some of the relics returned to them. The account of their lamentation to the monks marks another place where Parākrama embellished older narrative traditions.

The deposit of the relics in the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands is vividly described along with the fantastic miracles displayed by the relics and the large numbers of beings who venerated at the shrine and arrived at the higher attainments leading up to nirvana. However, before the shrine is finished, Duṭugämuṇu falls ill. One of his former warriors, who became a monk, returns to Duṭugämuṇu's deathbed and consoles him while a record of the king's meritorious acts is recited aloud. The king gives rise to feelings of serene joy in his deeds and charges his younger brother with the duty of finishing the shrine. When the king dies while gazing upon the relic shrine, he is instantaneously reborn as a deity who venerates the

relics once more and admonishes the crowd of people to do merit so that they may attain a heavenly rebirth too. Finally, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* ends with a short epilogue describing a prediction wherein Duṭugämuṇu and various members of his family and court will be reborn to attend to the future Buddha Maitreya.

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THE TEXT IN TRANSLATION

THE HISTORY OF THE BUDDHA'S RELIC SHRINE

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PROLOGUE

Reverence to the Meritorious One,
the Worthy One, the Fully
Awakened Buddha

I will describe the relic shrine named Golden Garlands [*ratnamāli*] that shines with various jewels, and wherein are enshrined about a bushel of the relics of that Buddha who was endowed with endless compassion and possessed knowledge with the types of knowledge such as the Sixfold Incomparable Knowledge, and the Fourfold Confident Knowledge, and the Unshakeable Knowledge before the Eight Audiences,[1] and who was confident and who overcame any method of dispute, and who was like a lamp raised to the three worlds, and who has tamed violent, rough, wrathful, and untamable beings such as Ālavaka, Aṅgulimāla, Sucirōma, and Khararōma,[2] and who was endowed with all the unlimited, incomparable, and indescribable virtues. Let virtuous persons hear my description of the Relic Shrine of Golden Sand [*ruvanväli dāgäba*], turning their ears attentively and unwaveringly in my direction [to hear it].[3]

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I

THE CAREER OF THE BODHISATTVA

Four incalculable world-periods and a hundred thousand eons ago in Daṁbadiva [Jambudvīpa],[1] our great Bodhisattva was born as a brahmin prince named Sumēdha in a very wealthy brahmin family in a royal city called Amaravatī, perhaps because there was a group of people similar to the gods, who are said to be immortal [*amara*] in terms of their beautiful features and wealth. After the demise of both his mother and father, the accountant brought the account book, showed the limitless wealth of seven generations in succession, and said, "Aside from an intelligent person like yourself who knows income and expenditures, even if someone who does not know income and expenditures were to throw a thousand gold pieces into the ocean day after day, it is wealth that cannot be exhausted. May you please attend to it." Having heard his speech, Sumēdha thought, "The relatives in generations including my father and forefathers, having amassed this wealth, died and went away without taking anything, perhaps because those going to the next world are generous. It would be better for me to take this 'wealth' [of merit]."[2]

Alms recipients gathered like swarms of bees at the scent of the sounding drums and sipped the pollen of the seven precious materials for seven days.[3] Then seeing that even the snow clouds of his generous giving could not lessen the radiant solar heat [of their desire] for the jewels, he thought, "What good is it to sit and watch this taking of wealth as if it

were a game? They will take away the wealth I have given. I will go forth into the ascetic life." So like a rutting elephant running from a blazing forest, he left his household. Arriving at a rocky peak named Dhārmika [righteous] perhaps because it was purified by his righteous presence,[4] he lived as an ascetic in a leaf hut constructed by Viśvakarma,[5] on the order of Śakra, the king of the gods,[6] that had within it all the requisites for a monk. Then he thought, "After giving up the comforts of the palace replete with every delight and pleasure, living in this leaf hut is like living in a second household." He left the hut and moved beneath a tree. Then he thought, "Having given up foods so special that they seemed divine, living now under trees, it is not right for me to eat all manner of fruits that are around. I will eat only the bark and leaves of just one tree." And so doing, he developed the Eight Meditative Attainments and the Five Higher Knowledges within one week.[7]

While he was spending the day in the playful bliss of meditation, Dīpaṅkara Buddha, who vanquished the Five Māras,[8] fulfilled the full Thirty Perfections,[9] and had obtained Buddhahood, entered *saṃsāra* with loving-kindness, thinking, "May the sufferings experienced by all sentient beings fall on me alone, and may the happiness experienced by me be experienced by all sentient beings." And while journeying for the welfare of the world to villages and market towns in the kingdom, being surrounded by four hundred thousand *arahant*s, Dīpaṅkara Buddha came in due course to the Sudarśana Monastery near the city of Raṁbagam [Pāli: Ramma].

On hearing the news that the Buddha had come, the dwellers of the city Raṁbagam, taking articles of worship in their hands, went to the Great Sudarśana Monastery. And seeing the Buddha, who had a shining and beautiful appearance that soothed their eyes, hearing the Dharma preached like a flooded river, revealing this world and the next world, and being pleased, they requested, "May you please come tomorrow." The Buddha, who heard those words said, "Noble lay devotees! How many monks would you like to come?" And after the lay devotees inquired how many monks were with him, the Buddha said, "four hundred thousand *arahant*s have assembled in this place." The lay devotees who heard those words said, "Well, since there are not that many monks, we can arrange for the gift of alms [*dāna*]. We will decorate the road for your arrival."

Having slept that night, when the sun rose above the peak of the Udaya Mountain like a ruby placed in the crown of a king,[10] they began to clear the path beginning from the Great Sudarśana Monastery up to

the city of Raṁbagam like an assembly of deities who decorate the Great Sudarśana Highway for the journey of Śakra, the king of the gods. At that time, the ascetic Sumēdha, while traveling north to Himavat through the sky above the city of Raṁbagam while seeking salt and sour foods, illuminating the sky with golden rays as if dividing the surface of a blue sapphire jewel, having marked it with a red marking thread,[11] and seeing those delighted ones clearing the road, asked, "You, who are meritorious and who cover the ten directions with shouts of joy as if starting out on a journey and beating the auspicious drums, for whom do you decorate this very attractive road?" The people who heard those words, said, "Why, Ascetic Sumēdha! Don't you know? Dīpaṅkara Buddha, who is like the disk of the young sun in dispelling the darkness of delusion—a substance compared to the insubstantial *saṃsāra*, a column of forest fire to the tender sprout, namely, the "Defilement Māra"; an auspicious charm for speech, namely, the "Conditioned Phenomena Māra"; a season of drought to the stream of water, namely, the "Aggregates Māra"; and a thunderbolt that has fallen upon the head of Vasavarti Māra,[12]—has appeared in the world of beings, releasing all beings from suffering. And while journeying throughout the lands, he is now coming from that Great Sudarśana Monastery to this city to eat a gift of alms. We are clearing the road for his arrival."

Hearing this, the Noble One thought, "It is difficult to hear the sweet speech or catch a glimpse of a Buddha, the Teacher of the Three Worlds, who has not appeared in the world for a hundred thousand crores of eons." Then with a mind filled with the taste of joy [*prīti rasa*] like a horn filled with jaggery and saying, "Now if you are clearing the road for the Buddha's arrival, give me a place to prepare also," he descended to the ground like a ball of jewels that has fallen to the earth, dropped from the hands of a goddess. Upon being given a gorge, deep as the side of a mountain and filled with cold water, which could not be prepared by anyone other than a Great Being, thinking, "I have the power to prepare this with *parasatu* flowers that please the gods, or with *ḳaḍupul* flowers that please the *nāga*s, or by fetching the jewels underneath Mount Meru, or by bringing divine cloth from the Wish-fulfilling Tree [*ḳap ruḳa*]. But that kind of decoration does not fully satisfy me. I will prepare it by my physical exertion," and having the power to fill the great pit of *saṃsāra* with the earth of good conduct, he began filling that pit with the earth he carried with his hands.

At that time, the inhabitants of the city prepared the alms and announced, "It is time for the Buddha to go forth." Then Dīpaṅkara Buddha, being accompanied by four hundred thousand *arahant*s, proceeded along with the gods and *brahmā*s of the ten thousand world-realms, illumining the nearby forest like a golden row of trees with the mass of golden rays that emanated from his resplendent body. The ascetic Sumēdha, who was observing the path ahead while seeing the golden rays with a mind filled with wonder, and seeing the Buddha coming, shining with six-colored rays[13] like a golden Mount Meru that has caught fire at the end of an eon,[14] thought, "Although I could say that the Noble One [Dīpaṅkara] who approaches surrounded by the *arahant*s is like the king of elephants named Chaddanta, who has undertaken a journey surrounded by his army of elephants, I would not compare him to a beast. Although I could equate him with Śakra, the king of the gods, surrounded by the deities of the two divine realms, I would not compare him to the one who blows the conch. Although I could say that he is like the Great Brahmā Sahampati surrounded by the retinue of *brahmā*s, I would not compare him to one who holds an umbrella.

"Although I could say that he is like the ocean because he is the support for the rivers of all good actions, and because he is a mine for the jewels of the Seven Constituent Factors of Awakening,[15] and because he has a series of vitues like waves, which do not transgress the shore of wisdom, I would not compare the ocean, which is mixed with the taste of salt, to the Omniscient One, who is sweet with the taste of loving-kindness. Although I could say that he is like a raincloud that has appeared in the sky of the world—with dark clouds of blue rays decorated by the rainbow of the fathom-length rays, shining with the lightning of glory, raining showers of the drops of the Dharma, destroying the accumulation of the dust of the defilements on the earth, namely, the minds of sentient beings, and producing thunderous sounds of joyful utterances [*udāna*] along with the row of clouds of his fame—I would not compare a cloud that at times causes fear of thunderbolts to the noble one, who is a giver of fearlessness at all times. Although I could say that he is like Mount Meru because he is established on the three-peaked summit of the three worlds, and because he is surrounded by the four great oceans of the fourfold assembly,[16] with the seven terraces of the seven conditions [for Awakening],[17] and because he shines forth with the four colors of the knowledge of the Four Paths,[18] and because he is not shaken by the wind that blows from the eight directions of the eight kinds of

worldly phenomena, I would not compare Mount Meru, which has rough features throughout, to the Dear Lord [*svāmidaruvō*], who has gentle qualities.[19] Although I could compare the size of the limitless sky to the Noble One [*uttamayāṇan vahansē*], who has virtues that are limitless, I would not degrade him by comparing him with the sky, which has the quality of emptiness."

And concluding that making a worldly simile for the Noble One, who has qualities that transcend the world, is not appropriate, [he thought,] "The very highest simile for him is that the Buddha is like the Venerable One himself. And the *arahant*s are just like *arahant*s themselves." With a mind pleased from considering various similes, [he thought,] "This noble one is as delicate as a king.[20] He is as delicate as a Buddha. But since the path I am preparing is half-finished, it is still muddy. It would not be proper for me to allow him to squish the mud with his resplendent feet, which shine with the one hundred and eight auspicious marks, and which resemble the radiant splendor of all the red lotus flowers gathered together in the entire world. But if the Buddha and the *arahant*s walked on my back as if treading on a gold-plated bridge, it would contribute to my long-lasting benefit and happiness," and having spread his garments of bark and deer-skin on top of the mud, he lay down, becoming a bridge for the Buddha, who is like a bridge for the ocean of *saṃsāra*.

And thinking, "When a resolute one like me, who is able to follow the Buddha as an *arahant* having the Fourfold Discriminating Knowledge,[21] enters the city of nirvana, leaving behind the mass of sentient beings who experience the sorrow of *saṃsāra*, who else will help the forlorn world? I will become a Buddha and deliver twenty-four incalculables of beings like this Buddha," he lay down like a seed planted in the mud to yield the immortal fruit of omnisicence on the Wish-fulfilling Tree of the condition of Awakening.

The Buddha, seeing the Great Being who lay there, while looking into the future, considered, "This being wishes to attain Buddhahood. Will this person's wish be fulfilled or not?" And realizing, "It will be fulfilled," in the midst of the Great Sangha of *arahant*s, he spoke these verses with a voice endowed with the eight aspects:[22]

Do you see this ascetic, having matted hair and doing severe
austerities?
In immeasurable eons from now, this one will become a Buddha.

Setting off from the delightful city called Kapila, the Tathāgata,
exerting himself in striving and doing what is difficult to be done,

Sitting at the foot of the Ajapāla tree, the Tathāgata,
having accepted the milk-rice, will come to the Nerañjarā [River].

Eating the milk-rice at the bank of the Nerañjarā,
he will come to the Seat of Awakening by a well-prepared path.

Thereupon circling the Seat of Awakening with his right side, the Unequaled One,
invincible, [will sit] in the supreme place, the highest seat of wisdom.

Sitting with crossed legs, the great glorious one will be enlightened.
The mother who gives birth to him will be named Māyā,
the father will be King Suddhodana, and this one will be Gotama.[23]

"Monks, look upon this ascetic with matted hair, severe austerities, and splendor.[24] After four incalculable world-periods and one hundred thousand eons in the future, this wondrous person, conceived in the womb of a queen named Mahāmāyā by a king named Suddhodana in a kingdom called Kiṁbulvat [Pāli: Kapilavatthu], born in a grove called Lumbiṇi, living in the home of a householder for twenty-nine years, and making the Great Renunciation, performing severe acts [of self-mortification] for six years, accepting a ball of milk-rice given by the wealthy man's daughter Sujātā at the foot of a fig tree called Ajapāla, and eating it at the bank of a river called Nerañjarā, going to the foot of the Bodhi tree by a path prepared by the gods, and circling it with his right side three times, having his back against the Äsatu Bodhi tree, looking eastward, and sitting on a grassy seat surrounded by the gods and *brahmā*s of the ten thousand world-realms, will become a Buddha at daybreak under the Visā asterism on a Tuesday during the full-moon day of the month of Vesak. Two persons called Kolita and Upatissa will be his chief male disciples. Two persons called Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā will be the chief female disciples. The Mahāthera Ānanda will be the chief attendant."

Having predicted that, he circumambulated to the right three times, encircling the Bodhisattva just as the great Meru is encircled by the Yugaňduru [Mountain], and venerating him with eight handfuls of jasmine flowers, he went away. Having received offerings from the Buddha, I think that, at that time, my Dear Lord was [like] a Buddha. The four

hundred thousand *arahant*s, also having individually offered garlands and circumambulated to the right, went away. Also the gods and *brahmā*s of the ten thousand world-realms, having venerated and made offerings to that noble one, wishing, "If we do not attain the highest knowledge [of the path and fruit of Arahantship] during the Dispensation of this Buddha, may we attain the highest knowledge during your Dispensation, Sir," went away. After the Buddha, the gods, and the *brahmā*s had gone, the Great Being, sitting up on that heap of flowers and reflecting on the conditions leading to Buddhahood, making a resolution to attain the virtues of the Ten Perfections, causing the great earth to shake sixty times, and rising from his seat, he then proceeded to Himavat.

Dīpaṅkara Buddha, being surrounded by four hundred thousand great *arahant*s, entered the city of Raṁbagam by the path that was finished and decorated by the dwellers of Raṁbagam, and was seated on the best seat arranged for the Buddha, like the disk of the young sun risen from the peak of the Udaya Mountain. The four hundred thousand *arahant*s sat around the Buddha. Those lay devotees who lived in Raṁbagam gave a great gift of alms to the Great Sangha headed by the Buddha. And making offerings with garlands and scents after they ate, requesting to hear the Dharma, they sat together on one side.

When they were seated, the meritorious Buddha, while preaching the benedictory sermon, first delivered a discourse on giving. Second, he delivered a discourse on morality. Third, having delivered a discourse on heaven, he next spoke of the disadvantages of the sense desires. Next, having spoken on the low condition and the impure condition, lecturing on the life of a monk who has abandoned the householder's life, he preached the Dharma concluding with nirvana. Having preached the sermon in this way, he established some persons from among the multitude in the Refuges. He established some in the Five Precepts. He established some in the Path and the Fruit of the Stream-winner. He established some in the Path and the Fruit of the Once-returner. He established some in the Path and the Fruit of the Non-returner. And he established some in the Four Paths and the Four Fruits and the Threefold Knowledge,[25] some in the Six Higher Knowledges,[26] and some in the Eight Meditative Attainments. Then rising from his seat, he departed from the city of Raṁbagam and went directly to the Great Sudarśana Monastery. Thus Dīpaṅkara Buddha, having remained alive for a hundred thousand years,[27] caused all beings to be released from the ocean of *saṃsāra*, and having accomplished all the acts of a Buddha,

passed away into the condition of nirvana without any material substratum remaining.

Thus the relics of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, not having been scattered, remained in one mass like a golden image. At that time, all the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva built a golden relic shrine 144 *gavu*s high with pure gold bricks solidly made.[28] And taking the relics of the bowl and the robe that were used by Dīpaṅkara Buddha, they built a golden relic shrine 12 *gavu*s high in the vicinity of the Bodhi Tree where he became a Buddha.

When an incalculable eon had passed in which there was no Buddha after Dīpaṅkara Buddha, the Buddha named Koṇḍañña was born in the world. At that time, our Bodhisattva, born as a Universal Monarch [Pāli: *cakkavattin*] named Vijitāvī, bestowed a great gift of alms to Koṇḍañña Buddha, who headed the Order of Monks measuring about one hundred lakhs. Koṇḍañña Buddha, also making a prediction, "This king will be a Buddha just like me in the future," preached the Dharma. Having heard the sermon delivered by that Buddha, and having offered the kingdom of a Universal Monarch to him, ordained as a monk by that Buddha, and learning the Three Baskets, that is, the Sūtra Piṭaka, the Abhidharma Piṭaka, and the Vinaya Piṭaka, he developed the Five Higher Knowledges and the Eight Meditative Attainments and was reborn in the *brahmā* world due to his undiminished meditation. Koṇḍañña Buddha, having remained one hundred thousand years and accomplished all the acts of a Buddha, passed away in *parinirvāṇa* while in the city called Mandāra. The relics of that Buddha were not dispersed. At that time, all the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva built a relic shrine twenty-eight *gavu*s high out of the seven kinds of precious materials, using sesame oil for water and using yellow orpiment for clay.

Thereafter, when one incalculable eon had passed following the demise of that Buddha Koṇḍañña, four Buddhas were born in a single eon. Who were these venerable ones? They were the Buddha named Maṅgala, the Buddha named Sumana, the Buddha named Revata, and the Buddha named Sobhita. At the time of Maṅgala Buddha, our great Bodhisattva was born as a brahmin called Suruci. Thinking, "I will invite that Maṅgala Buddha [for a meal]," and approaching the Buddha, hearing a pleasing sermon, and inviting the one hundred thousand *arahant*s headed by the Buddha for a meal on the following day, he gave a gift of sweet milk-rice for a whole week. Maṅgala Buddha, while delivering the benedictory sermon, made a prediction to the Bodhisattva, "After two incalculable

eons and one hundred thousand years in the future, you will become a Buddha named Gautama." The Bodhisattva, having heard the prediction thus given, thought, "Well then, it is said I will become a Buddha. What use do I have for the household life when I will become a Buddha?" Then abandoning his great wealth as if it were a lump of spittle spat out in the early morning, he was ordained as a monk by the Buddha. Then having developed the Five Higher Knowledges and the Eight Meditative Atttainments, he was reborn in the *brahmā* world at the end of his lifespan. When Maṅgala Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were not dispersed. The inhabitants of Daṁbadiva built a golden relic shrine 120 *gavu*s high with solid gold bricks.

After the demise of Maṅgala Buddha, Sumana Buddha was born. At that time, our Bodhisattva was born as a *nāga* king named Atula. Hearing that a Buddha with great psychic powers and great glory was born in the world of humans, coming from the *nāga* realm along with his relatives, and making an offering with a celestial drum to Sumana Buddha, who was surrounded by a hundred thousand crores of *arahant*s, giving a great gift of alms, and giving divine cloth to each one, he was established in the Refuges and the Precepts. Sumana Buddha also made the prediction, "This individual will in the future become a Buddha just like me." When that Buddha passed away, his relics were not dispersed. At that time, the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva built a golden relic shrine sixteen *gavu*s high, just as before.

After the demise of Sumana Buddha, the Buddha named Revata was born. At that time, our great Bodhisattva was born as a brahmin called Atideva. Hearing a very pleasing sermon that was preached by Revata Buddha, being established in the Refuges and the Precepts, venerating the Buddha, extolling the manner in which that Buddha had destroyed the defilements, he offered him the upper robes [of a monk]. Revata Buddha also declared, "This individual will in the future become a Buddha just like me." When Revata Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were dispersed.

After the demise of Revata Buddha, the Buddha named Sobhita was born. Our Bodhisattva, born as a brahmin called Ajita, hearing a sermon delivered by the Buddha, being established in the Refuges and Precepts, bestowed a great gift of alms to the Great Sangha headed by the Buddha. Sobhita Buddha also made a prediction, "This individual will in the future become a Buddha just like me." His relics were dispersed.

In the incalculable eon following Sobhita Buddha, no Buddhas were born. Subsequently, three Buddhas were born in a single eon. Who were those venerable ones? They were the Buddha named Anomadassī, the Buddha named Paduma, and the Buddha named Nārada. Thus, three venerable ones were born in a single eon. In the time of Anomadassī Buddha, our Dear Lord, born as the leader of an army of *yakṣa*s, having great psychic powers and great glory, while abiding as the supreme ruler for many crores of *yakṣa*s, hearing that a Buddha has been born in the world, approaching the Buddha and venerating his resplendent feet, gave a great gift of alms to the Great Sangha headed by the Buddha. Anomadassī Buddha also predicted, "This individual will in the future become a Buddha just like me." When Anomadassī Buddha passed away, all the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva, hearing that the relics of the venerable one were not dispersed, built a golden relic shrine one hundred *gavu*s high.

After the demise of Anomadassī Buddha, the Buddha named Paduma was born. That Omniscient One resided in a forest away from the village. At that time, our great Bodhisattva was born as a lion. Seeing the Omniscient One named Paduma who was seated and had entered into the meditative trance state of cessation [*nirodha*], venerating the Buddha with a serenely joyful mind, and circling him to the right, making offerings to the Buddha by roaring three times, and not searching for prey for a whole week out of joy and happiness, having given over his life to the Buddha, he remained near him. Then Paduma Buddha, rising out from the trance state of cessation and seeing the lion there, thinking, "May he venerate the Sangha, arousing serene joy in his mind toward the assembly of monks," then he thought, "Let the Great Sangha come to this place." In that instant, the Great Sangha assembled there. The lion, seeing and venerating the monastic community, aroused serene joy in his mind. That Buddha, perceiving the mind of the lion that thought, "I will become a Buddha," predicted, "This lion will in the future become a Buddha named Gautama." The relics of that Buddha were dispersed.

Following that Paduma Buddha, a Lord of the World named Nārada was born. At that time, our great Bodhisattva—having gone forth as an ascetic, developing the Five Higher Knowledges and the Eight Meditative Attainments, and while residing as an ascetic who has obtained the trance states, giving a great offering to the Great Sangha headed by Nārada Buddha—made an offering with a block of red sandalwood. That Nārada

Buddha, who was a refuge to those without refuge and a help to the helpless, declared, "This ascetic will in the future become a Buddha just like me." The relics of Nārada Buddha were not dispersed, but were left in one mass like a golden image. The gods and *brahmā*s together with the people, having gathered together, taking the relics of that Buddha and building a golden relic shrine sixteen *gavu*s high, made offerings.

After the demise of Nārada Buddha, when one incalculable eon passed without the birth of a Buddha, the Buddha named Padumuttara was born one hundred thousand eons before this very auspicious age.[29] At that time, our great Bodhisattva, born as a provincial chieftain named Jaṭila, gave the three robes and bowl to the Great Sangha headed by Padumuttara Buddha. That Padumuttara Buddha, the peerless Lord of the World, declared, "This individual will become a world-transcending Buddha just like me." The relics of Padumuttara Buddha remained in one mass and were not dispersed. All the gods and humans gathered together and built a relic shrine of precious materials forty-eight *gavu*s high.

Following that Padumuttara Buddha, when thirty thousand eons had passed without a Buddha, two Buddhas were born in a single eon. Who were these venerable ones? The Buddha named Sumedha and the Buddha Sujāta. At the time of Sumedha Buddha, who came first, our Bodhisattva was born as a brahmin youth named Uttara. Spending a treasure of eighty crores that had been deposited away, bestowing a great gift of alms to the Great Sangha headed by Sumedha Buddha, and hearing a sermon, he was established in the Refuges and the Precepts as a monk. That Sumedha Buddha also predicted, "This individual will in the future become a Buddha just like me." The relics of Sumedha Buddha were dispersed.

That Buddha named Sujāta was born after Sumedha Buddha. At that time, our Bodhisattva was born as a Universal Monarch. Hearing that a Buddha has appeared in the world, approaching the Buddha, and hearing a sermon, he offered the seven precious materials and sovereignty over the four great continents to the Great Sangha headed by the Buddha. Then he became a monk in the presence of the Buddha. The subjects, having brought the kingdom's wealth, building a new monastery, bestowed a great gift of alms [for seven days] without interruption to the great Sangha with the Buddha as its chief. That Sujāta Buddha also predicted, "This king will in the future, become a Buddha just like me." Taking his relics, they built a golden relic shrine twelve *gavu*s high.

Following that Sujāta Buddha, three Buddhas were born in the 118th eon before this one. Who were they? The Buddha named Piyadassī, the Buddha named Atthadassī, and the Buddha named Dhammadassī. At the time of Piyadassī Buddha, who came first, our great Bodhisattva was born as a brahmin youth named Kāśyapa who learned the Three Vedas. Then hearing a sermon delivered by the Buddha, spending one hundred lakhs of wealth to endow a monastery for the Sangha, and giving a gift of alms to the Buddha, he was established in the Refuges and Precepts. That Piyadassī Buddha also predicted, "When the 118th eon has passed after this eon, this individual will become a Buddha named Gautama." The relics of that Piyadassī Buddha remained in one mass. The inhabitants of Jambudvīpa, gathering together and taking his relics, built a relic shrine out of precious materials that was twelve *gavu*s high.

Following the demise of the venerable one [Piyadassī], a Buddha named Atthadassī was born in the world. At that time, our great Bodhisattva was an ascetic named Susīma who had great powers and great fame. Then hearing a sermon from that Buddha, arousing serene joy, and bringing divine *madārā*, lotus, *parasatu*, and *ḳobalīla* flowers,[30] he poured out a rain of flowers like a great thundercloud that rains over the four great continents, making a pavilion of flowers, festoons of flowers, and archways of flowers, while venerating that Atthadassī Buddha, who was the Bearer of the Ten Powers,[31] with a parasol of flowers. That meritorious Buddha also predicted, "This ascetic will in the future become a Buddha named Gautama." When that Atthadassī Buddha, who was without peer and who was a refuge to those without refuge, passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were dispersed.

Next a Buddha named Dhammadassī was born in the world. Our Bodhisattva, born as Śakra, king of the gods, made offerings to the Buddha with heavenly flowers, heavenly scents, and heavenly music. Dhammadassī Buddha predicted, "This Śakra, king of the gods, will become a Buddha just like me." When that Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics, remaining in one mass that had not been dispersed, were enshrined. At that time, the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva took the relics of that Dhammadassī Buddha and built a relic shrine of precious materials twelve *gavu*s high.

Following the demise of the venerable one, a Buddha named Siddhārtha was born ninety-four eons before this eon. At that time, our great Bodhisattva, born as an ascetic named Maṅgala, practicing severe austerities,

developing the Five Higher Knowledges and the Eight Meditative Attainments, and attaining the trance states, having brought and presented a rose-apple from a great rose-apple tree, offered the rose-apple with the desired aim to the Buddha, who was the Tathāgata. That Buddha, who was a refuge to those without refuge, who was the protector to those without protection, and who was the Lord of the World, ate that rose-apple. Then he called the Bodhisattva forth and predicted, "After ninety-four eons in the future, you will become a Buddha named Gautama." When that Siddhārtha Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were not dispersed. The inhabitants of Daṁbadiva, taking the relics along with bricks made entirely out of precious objects, built a relic shrine of precious materials twelve *gavu*s high.

Following Siddhārtha Buddha, ninety-two eons before this eon, two Buddhas were born. Who were they? The Buddha named Tissa and the Buddha named Phussa. Therein, in the time of Tissa Buddha, our great Bodhisattva was born as a king called Sujāta with endless wealth and a large and renowned retinue. Then abandoning his royal prosperity and going forth as an ascetic, he obtained great psychic powers and glory. At that time, hearing that a Buddha named Tissa has been born, bringing divine *madārā*, lotus, and *parasatu* flowers, proceeding into the middle of the fourfold assembly, he offered them to the Budddha. These flowers he offered remained like a flower canopy in the sky. That Tissa Buddha also predicted, "At the end of ninety-two eons from this eon, the ascetic Sujāta will become a Buddha like me." When that Tissa Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were not dispersed. At that time, the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva took his relics and built a relic shrine of precious materials twelve *gavu*s high.

After Tissa Buddha, the Buddha named Phussa was born. At that time, our Bodhisattva was born as a king named Vijitāvī. That king, having completely abandoned the prosperity of kingship, being ordained by the Buddha, learning the Three Piṭakas, and delivering sermons to many people, guarded his moral conduct. That Phussa Buddha also predicted, "This King Vijitāvī will become a Buddha in the future." The relics of that Buddha were dispersed.

Following him, the Buddha named Vipassī was born ninety-one eons before this eon. At that time, our Bodhisattva was born as a *nāga* king named Atula with great psychic powers and great glory. He offered a golden throne made entirely out of the seven precious materials to the

Buddha. That Vipassī Buddha said, "Ninety-one eons after I have become a Buddha, this *nāga* king named Atula will in the future become a Buddha named Gautama just like me." When that Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics, remaining in one mass that was not dispersed, were enshrined like a gold image. The gods and deities gathered together and built a relic shrine twenty-eight *gavu*s high.

Following him, thirty-one eons prior to this one, the two venerable ones Sikhī and Vessabhū were born. Thereupon, in the time of Sikhī Buddha, who was first, our Bodhisattva was the renowned King Arindama, who gave a great gift of alms and robes to the monks headed by the Buddha. Giving the royal elephant that shone with the seven precious materials as alms, he also gave appropriate objects worth as much as that elephant. That Omniscient One also predicted, "In the thirty-first eon after this eon, he will become a Buddha named Gautama." When that Sikhī Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics remained in one mass. All the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva, taking his relics, built a relic shrine out of the seven precious materials, twelve *gavu*s high and splendid like the Himāla Mountain.

Following that Omnisicient One named Sikhī, the Buddha named Vessabhū was born in the world. At that time, our Bodhisattva, born as a king named Sudassī, giving a great gift of alms with robes to the Sangha led by the Buddha, abandoned the prosperity of kingship. Then being ordained by the Buddha, and being endowed with the virtue of good conduct, he illumined the Dispensation of that Buddha. That Vessabhū Buddha also predicted, "Thirty one eons after this eon, he will in the future become a Buddha named Gautama." When Vessabhū Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were dispersed.

Next four Buddhas were born in this auspicious eon. Who were those venerable ones? They were the Buddha named Kakusaṅda, the Buddha named Konāgamana, the Buddha named Kāśyapa, and the Buddha named Gautama. Therein, in the time of Kakusaṅda Buddha, who was first, the Bodhisattva, who is our Dear Lord, was born as a king called Khema. At that time, inviting the Great Sangha led by the Buddha, making offerings of bowls and robes, collyrium ointment to daub the eyes, and medicines in the event of sickness to that Kakusaṅda Buddha, and listening to a sermon, he became a monk in that Buddha's Dispensation. That Kakusaṅda Buddha also predicted, "In this eon in which I have become a Buddha, he will become a Buddha named Gautama." When that Buddha passed

away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were not dispersed. The inhabitants of Daṁbadiva, assembling and taking the relics, built a relic shrine one *gavu* high.

Next the Buddha named Konāgamana was born. At that time, our Bodhisattva, being a king named Parvata, approached Konāgamana Buddha accompanied by his assembly of ministers. Then hearing the sermon being delivered, inviting the Great Sangha led by the Buddha, giving a great gift of alms, and offering cloth from the country of Pattuṇṇa, cloth from the country of Cīna, Koseyya cloth, blankets, woven silk, and golden cloth, he was ordained by the Buddha as a monk. That Konāgamana Buddha, who was without peer, predicted, "This king will in this eon become a Buddha named Gautama." When that Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were dispersed.

Next the Buddha named Kāśyapa was born. At that time, our great Bodhisattva was born as a brahmin youth named Jotipāla, who learned the Three Vedas and was renowned in the divine and human worlds. Then going to Kāśyapa Buddha along with his friend, the potter named Ghaṭīkāra, hearing the sermon being delivered by that Buddha, he became a monk. And while increasing his effort, learning the Three Baskets, he illumined the Dispensation of that Buddha with his good conduct. That Kāśyapa Buddha predicted, "This individual will in this very eon become a Buddha named Gautama." That Kāśyapa Buddha, having accomplished all the acts of a Buddha, passed away in *parinirvāṇa* with no material substratum remaining. When that Buddha passsed away in *parinirvāṇa*, his relics remained as one mass.[32] At that time, the inhabitants of Daṁbadiva assembled, each with one golden brick, decorated with jewels and worth a crore, to be placed on the outside, and each with a golden brick worth half a crore made for the interior filling, and taking yellow orpiment for clay and sesame oil for water, they built the relic shrine four *gavu*s high.

The manner in which the predictions were received by our Dear Lord from all the Buddhas and the Account of the Relic Shrines of the Living Buddhas in this *Thūpavaṃsa*, which has been composed for the sake of arousing serene joy in the minds of virtuous persons, having been narrated, are concluded.

2

THE STORY OF PRINCE SIDDHĀRTHA

After this Fully Awakened Buddha named Kāśyapa passed away, no other Buddha was born aside from our Buddha. Therefore our great Bodhisattva, who received predictions from the twenty-four Buddhas beginning with the Omniscient One named Dīpaṅkara, having fulfilled the full thirty constituent perfections, and while existing as Viśvantara [Pāli: Vessantara], thought, "This great earth, which has no mind, knowing neither happiness nor misery, shook seven times from the power of my generosity," and thus having accumulated merit that caused the great earth to shake, passing away from his existence as Viśvantara, and being reborn in the Tuṣita (Pāli: Tusita) heaven, he excelled the other deities in terms of the ten conditions. What are those ten conditions? His life in the divine world surpassed all the gods in terms of these ten conditions: divine life span, divine complexion, divine happiness, divine splendor, divine lordship, divine form, divine voice, divine smell, divine taste, and divine touch. And while he was enjoying divine prosperity throughout his life in the divine world, being invited by the gods of the ten thousand world-realms:

> Now is the time for you Great Hero to be reborn in the womb of your mother,
> Causing the gods and the humans to cross over, awaken into the immortal state,[1]

and while investigating [the conditions for his rebirth], he determined the time: "When beings have a life span of more than a hundred thousand years, decay and death will not be perceived. For beings who do not perceive decay and death, the Dharma, which is spoken by a Buddha in terms of the Three Marks of impermanence, suffering, and selflessness, will not appear as something that must be heard or as something that must be believed. And because of that, there is no realization possible. When there is no realization, the Dispensation is not conducive to emancipation. Now the life span of beings does not exceed one hundred thousand years. [But] since beings with a life span of less than one hundred years have more defilements, the exhortations they receive cannot be retained and disappear rapidly like a line drawn in water. But now is not that time either. A medium life span that lasts from one hundred thousand years to one hundred years is certainly the time for a Buddha to appear. Now beings have a life span of one hundred years. Now is the time for me to be reborn."

And he determined the continent: "Omniscient Ones are surely not born in the three other directions of Mount Meru. They are born only in Daṁbadiva." And considering, "Daṁbadiva is ten thousand leagues in size, including water and land. Where might Omniscient Ones be born?" he determined, "It is in the Middle Country." And considering, "That Middle Country is three hundred leagues in length, two hundred and fifty leagues in width, and nine hundred leagues in circumference. Where should I be born?" he determined the country, "I will be born in this kingdom of Kiṁbulvat." Then he determined, "Not being born in the Vaiṣya class or the Kṣudra (Skt.: Śūdra) class, Buddhas are surely born in the class of kings or the class of brahmins. Now the class of kings is the preferred one in the world. I will be born in the class of kings." Then he determined the family, "King Śuddhodana will be my father," and determined his mother, "Mothers who give birth to Omniscient Ones are certainly not desirous of men. They are not addicted to liquor. Queen Mahāmāya, having vowed for a hundred thousand eons to give birth to a Buddha, cultivating the Five Precepts from that point on without interruption, has the virtue. She will give birth after ten months and live for seven days." Thus making the Five Great Determinations, showing favor to the gods, he vowed, "I will go and become a Buddha," and dismissing the gods of the ten thousand world-realms, he entered the Naňdun Park surrounded by the gods of the Tuṣita city.[2]

Queen Mahāmāya, spending the days during the *nakat* festival by abstaining from liquor beginning from the ninth day of the waxing moon in the month of Äsaḷa, bathing with sixteen pots of scented water in the early morning on the full-moon day, eating the royal food, adorning herself with golden jewelry, observing the Eightfold Precepts,[3] and while reflecting on the purity of her precepts, spending the day in joy, she saw a dream like this in the early morning. How was that?

The four regent deities,[4] lifting the bed on which the queen was sleeping, placing it on their heads, and having taken it to the Anavatapta Lake,[5] placed it on a crystal slab and stood away at a respectful distance. The queens of those regent deities washed Mahāmāya's head and bathed her to remove the human impurities, dressed her in divine cloth, adorned her with divine ornaments, and had her lie on the bed. The regent deities, again placing that bed on their heads, went and placed it in a golden chamber inside a nearby silver mountain. A majestic elephant, white like the Kailasa Mountain, 120 cubits long, with a trunk of fifty-eight cubits, and with a mouth and four feet as if painted with red lac, which was feeding on a golden mountain, descended from the golden mountain, climbed up the silver mountain, descended from that also, and entering into the golden chamber, circumambulating the queen three times, splitting her right side with its right tusk, entered her womb.

At that time, the Bodhisattva, who was walking and observing the park in the Naňdun Grove in the Tuṣita realm, having shown this dream to the mother, and because of his great resultant consciousness [*mahāvipāka-cittaya*][6] along with the unprompted meritorious consciousness [*asaṅskārakuśala-cittaya*], which is accompanied by joy [*somnas-sahagata*], preceded by loving-kindness, and is associated with knowledge [*jñānasaṁprayukta*], he took conception in his mother's womb. Worldly beings are not aware of themselves taking conception in the womb of the mother, of themselves in gestation, and of themselves being born. The Eighty Great Disciples of the Buddha are aware of themselves taking conception. They are not aware of themselves in gestation and of themselves being born. The chief disciples and the *paccekabuddha*s are aware of themselves taking conception and in gestation. They are not aware of themselves being born. As for *bodhisattva*s, they are aware of themselves taking conception. They are aware of themselves being born. They know at the moment of passing away, "I will pass away." They are aware of the consciousness of passing away [*cuticittaya*].[7] And while taking conception, they know, "At

such and such a place I will take conception." They are aware of the consciousness of the rebirth-link [*pratisandhi-cittaya*]. Thus having taken conception in the mother's womb by the fourth kind of transition into the womb, putting his back against the back of the mother, putting his stomach against her stomach, crossing his legs like a Dharma preacher seated on a Dharma seat, and while appearing to his mother like a thread from a red blanket that is passed through a naturally polished gem, he remained in the mother's womb for ten months.

At that time, Queen Mahāmāya, informing King Śuddhōdana, "I wish to go to the city of Devdaha to see my relatives," and—accompanied by an army of eighty-four thousand elephants resembling a mass of rain-clouds that had fallen on that royal road, as if the Great Sudarśana Highway, decorated for the journey of Śakra, king of the gods, had fallen from the weight of its opulence, and by an army of that many horses, resembling a series of waves in the ocean during the world-dissolution wind,[8] and by an army of that many chariots that had poles with rows of flapping banners, as if inviting the gods and *brahmā*s by hand to "Come and see, for there is no festival like this," and by an army of foot soldiers like a series of waves rising up in the great ocean, and by a row of women who proceeded, surrounding her as if a forest of golden creepers surrounding the wish-fulfilling creeper had taken to travel, and accompanied by the sound of drums as if announcing to the entire world, "The fruit of merit is like this"—journeying thus, she came midway between the two cities.

Midway between the two cities there is a royal grove of *sal* trees called the Lumbinī Grove, where the inhabitants of the two cities go and celebrate festivals held for the enjoyment of their kings. At that time, the *sal* trees of that *sal* grove were decorated with flowers beginning from their feet up to the highest branches. Swarms of five kinds of bees and many kinds of colorful birds with melodious songs, intoxicated with joy, traveled among the flowers and in between the branches. The entire Lumbinī Grove was like the Citralatā Garden in the city of the gods. Seeing that, Queen Mahāmāya desired to play in the *sal* grove. Ten thousand attendants, bearing the queen in a golden palanquin, entered the *sal* grove. Enjoying the pleasures of the *sal* grove, the queen approached the foot of the royal *sal* tree and stretched out her hand to a branch. At that time, observing the row of trees moving with the wind, as if saluting her with affection and thinking, "The noble lady has come after a long time," and

observing the peacocks dancing to the thundering of the drums, as if trembling because they were outdone by the beauty of her tresses of hair, and observing the does running, overmatched by the queen's glances while looking around, as if garlands of blue water lilies were rotating around the ten directions, and observing the female swans entering the pond, overwhelmed by her slow and graceful gait, and then noticing the tender shoot of the highest branch on the royal *sal* tree, stretching forth her hand as if comparing, "Is the tender shoot of my hand or the tender shoot of this tree more lovely?" grasping the branch of the tree, which was bowing out of reverence, as if saying, "This is the mother of the Great Being who will become a Buddha," and putting on a linen cloth embroidered with gold, covering herself with a shawl that was like the color of fish eyes,[9] standing and looking east, she gave birth to my Dear Lord, who dispels the suffering of the three worlds, untouched by the defilements of bodily impurities and without as much pain as the bite of a female bedbug. Then the Dear Lord, stretching out his two feet like a *mahāthera* descending from a preaching seat, was born.[10]

At that time, four *brahmā*s who dwell in the Pure Abodes [of heaven], whose desire for sense-pleasures had been destroyed, received the Dear Lord in a golden net and uttered joyful words as if pouring honey in the ears of gods, *brahmā*s, and so on, "The mother has given birth to a Great Being who will become a Buddha." The four regent deities received him with a leopard skin that had a comfortable feel and placed him on their heads. The people, saying, "Are you the royal servants? Are we not also royal servants?" received him with a silken head cushion. Then he descended from their hands, remained near his mother like a golden shoot that has risen out from a golden branch, and thinking, "Is there anyone in the entire world equal to me?" he looked around. Then hearing the words spoken by the gods and *brahmā*s in the ten directions, which had become a single open space, and whose hands were placed on their heads, bowing down repeatedly, joyful and eager, and who said, "Unafflicted One! There is no one in this entire world equal to you. Sir, we are all your royal servants. Why take the trouble to look in the ten directions?" Then thinking, "There is no one in the entire world equal to me. I am the highest," he took seven steps in the northern direction, stood upon a white lotus, which was covered with seven thousand lotus petals and had burst through the earth as if the earth goddess was kissing his resplendent

feet with a happy face, thinking, "A Great Being has come to the foremost place in the entire world."

Having witnessed this wonder, the earths in the ten thousand world-realms, including this world-realm, shook. Immeasurable light filled the ten thousand world-realms. The blind received the power of sight to see the wonders of my Lord [*svāmiyā*]. The mute sang. The deaf heard sweet music. The lame danced with joy on the dancing stage. The hunchbacked obtained bodies that were attractive. Beings who were tightly bound in prison went free. The fire of the hell-regions in the ten thousand world-realms was extinguished. Lotuses bloomed in the hell-regions. The hunger and thirst of the *preta*s were quenched.[11] Animals lost their fear. The ninety-eight diseases such as coughing and asthma, and the ninety-nine illnesses, and the thirty-two types of ailments of all beings disappeared. All beings, looking at each other's faces with happiness, spoke joyful words. Elephants trumpeted happily. Horses neighed in a sweet manner. Lions roared. All the drums sounded while remaining hung without any persons beating them. The ornaments and nettings of small bells worn by the gods and people who were not moving let out pleasing sounds. Every region became illumined, and the cool, fragrant breeze blew comfortably and gently for all beings. An unseasonal raincloud rose up and poured rain. Also, streams of water, rising up from the earth, gave a watery blessing to the world of the gods. Birds remained suspended in the air. Rivers and streams remained motionless. The water of the ocean, which is pungent because of its salt, became sweetened like a pot of sweet milk boiled with jaggery. Every single place was decorated with the five kinds of lotuses.[12] Flowers bloomed on water and on land. The trunk, forks, and branches on every single tree became decorated with the five kinds of lotuses. Lotuses with two layers, three layers, and seven layers of petals bloomed, splitting open the earth and rocks. The sky became a canopy of lotuses. A shower of flowers fell on all sides. Celestial drums thundered in the sky. All the ten thousand world-realms became like a ball of flowers. They became like a flower altar [*malasnak*] upon which offerings were placed. They became like a single garland of flowers. They became like a shining whisk fan, and became scented with the fragrance of flowers and the fragrance of incense.[13] The lions' weariness was removed by the spray of water that issued forth from the trunks of elephants.[14] The lionesses fed the elephant cubs with milk from their own breasts. The she-elephants fed

the lion cubs with their own milk. Frogs and centipedes were seated by cobras beneath the white parasols of their hoods. Cobras and *garuḍa*s became friendly. Cats and mice danced on the same circular stage. Leopards scratched their necks with the horns of deer. Crows and owls looked into each other's face with long-standing affection. Horses and buffalo, having forsaken their enmity [for each other], licked each other's body out of love.

When these endless wonders were displayed for my Dear Lord, the Great Brahmā Sahampatī, who was surrounded by ten lakhs of *brahmā*s, created a golden surface for the sake of kneeling, placed his right kneecap there, repeatedly offered the buds of water lilies, namely his fingers, on the flower altar of his forehead, and while sprinkling the water of gentle words, said, "Lord! All beings including myself are your royal servants. Why then are you standing?" When thus informed, he made the fearless lion's roar, "I am the chief of the world. I am the foremost one of the world. I am the best of the world. This is my final birth. Now there is no subsequent rebirth." Therefore it has been said by this verse,

Just like the bull who, at the moment of birth, touches the earth
with even feet,
So Gotama, with strength, taking seven steps, instantly uttered speech.

When he was taking seven steps, the Great Brahmā held a white parasol, which had a golden handle, a thousand ringlets, a circumference of twelve *gavu*s, and a height of forty-eight *gavu*s. The god Santuṣita [Pāli: Santusita] shook a golden chowrie, which had a circumference of three *gavu*s and was like the glory of the Dear Lord's.[15] The god Suyāma waved a jeweled palm-leaf fan that had a circumference of three *gavu*s.[16] One god carried the royal headress. Another god took up the royal sword. One god took up a pair of sandals outfitted with gems. Śakra, king of the gods, who is the ruler of all the gods in the two divine worlds, blew the Victory Conch, which was 120 cubits. Around that conch, sixty-eight thousand conches resounded in the sky and deafened the three worlds. Mahakeḷa, the *nāga* king, accompanied by eighty thousand *nāga* maidens, came and began to shout praise to my Dear Lord like a bard. The god Pañcaśikha, with a golden body three *gavu*s high, put on a crown of precious materials a *gavu* high and wore a garment similar to a *tuṁba* flower or a creeper-flower that spread radiance persistently throughout an area of two hundred *gavu*s, which had a length of forty-eight *gavu*s when cut and folded,

descending and wafting fragrance for four hundred *gavu*s. Then—adorning himself in ornaments that filled one thousand carts, annointing his body with four *yāḷa*s and ten *amuṇu*s of scents,[17] adorning himself with one and one-half *yāḷa*s of fragrant flowers such as the campaka, iron-wood, jack, *sihin*, jasmine, the two *idda*s, fragrant water lilies, *parasatu*, *ḳovilāra*, lotus, *dunuḳē*, *väṭaḳē*, *ḳarāḳē*, rose, white water lilies, *maruvaḳa*, and *vidāvana*—he fitted and decorated seven strings: namely, a string made of gold, a string made of rubies, a string made of cat's-eye gems, a string made of coral, a string made of silver, and a string made of the seven precious materials, on a *vīṇā* called Beluvapaṇḍu, which is three *gavu*s high. He played this wondrous *vīṇā*, the sound of which when played for one moment lasts for seven months and seven days for my Dear Lord with 10,999 sounds, enchanting the ear of the whole world. The articles of worship so mentioned appeared, but the gods who held them were not seen. Therefore it has been said,

> The gods held a parasol with one thousand rings
> and many spokes in the air,
> Chowries with golden handles are fanning,
> [but] those holding the parasol and fans were not seen.

The crowd from the two cities along with the gods and *brahmā*s of the ten thousand world-realms next brought that Noble One to Kiṁbulvat. On that day, an ascetic named Kāladēvala, who was eating regularly in the home of King Śuddhodana, having gone to Śakra's realm for the sake of spending the midday rest, and while resting in the Naṅdunvana Garden, seeing the gods playing, he asked, "Why are you playing eagerly with joy?" And hearing the words that were spoken by the gods, "A beloved son of King Śuddhodana has been born. Having sat at the foot of the Bodhi Tree, defeating the Five Māras, and attaining Buddhahood, he will set forth the Wheel of Dharma. Hearing his sweet sermon, we will be released from *saṃsāra*. It is because we will see his psychic powers and wonders that we are playing with joy," and returning, he sat in the throne of King Śuddhodana. At that instant, [the king,] thinking, "By making my son bow down to the ascetic who sees eighty eons into the future and has attained meditative states of this measure, may the sins of my son be wiped away," and taking the Bodhisattva along, he placed him near the ascetic.

The two little soles of my little Dear Lord, who has feet that play on top of the three worlds, were placed in the matted hair of the ascetic, like an evening cloud at the top of the Astagiri Mountain.[18] Instantly, the ascetic got down from the seat, and placing both hands against his head, venerating the Dear Lord, laughed happily and then wept. The attendants who saw that, thinking, "Our ascetic who has the Divine Eye laughed then wept. Is it perhaps because a misfortune will befall the prince?" and distressed, questioned the ascetic. The ascetic said, "This Great Being will certainly become a world-transcending Buddha. When he becomes a Buddha, I will not be able to see him. I am weeping with pity for myself." The great father-king who saw this wonder got down, prostrated, and paid homage to his son. Again, five days later, decorating the royal palace, sprinkling the five decorative "flowers" including puffed rice,[19] spreading out very costly seats, inviting 108 brahmins who had learned the Veda, having them sit in the seats, and putting milk-rice in gold dishes worth one hundred thousand coins, covering them with silver plates equal in value, and feeding the rice to the brahmins, he said, "Give them the dishes and their remaining meals." Then having given the dishes, the seats, new silken clothes, and tawny-colored cows to the brahmins, he asked about the signs [on his son's body]. Eight persons among them, including the brahmin Rāma, interpreted the signs. Seven persons among them, raising two fingers, said, "He will either be a Universal Monarch or he will be a Buddha." A brahmin youth named Koṇḍañña, who was the youngest of those eight, raising one finger, said, "This Great Being, having abandoned the kingdom of a Universal Monarch, and having seen four omens, will become a Buddha."

Then the father-king, giving him the name Prince Siddhārtha because he was born to accomplish the welfare of the world, and choosing the wet-nurses, thinking, "The neck of a child who drinks milk sitting on the lap of a very tall woman becomes lengthened. The neck of a child who drinks milk sitting on the lap of one who is very short becomes shortened. The legs of a child who drinks milk sitting on the lap of a very fat woman become bow-legged. Because there is little flesh on the thighs of a very feeble woman, the thighs ache on a child who drinks milk from her. Since the breasts affect the nose of a child who drinks milk, the nose will become flat if a woman has fallen breasts. Because the body of a very light woman is warm, the milk will be warm. Because the body of a very dark woman is cool, the milk will be cold. The milk of some women

will have a bitter taste," and avoiding these said defects, he chose sixty-four wet-nurses who were not tall, not short, had fair complexions, and had sweet milk.

And [later,] when he was one month old, going to the Vap festival,[20] placing the Bodhisattva on a decorated couch beneath a rose-apple tree, stationing sixteen thousand female attendants, draping a silken cloth around him, and yoking a thousand bullocks with gold and silver ploughs, the king stood in the ceremony. The female attendants went outside to watch the ploughing of the king. The Bodhisattva, who saw that there was no one else inside [with him], rose to the fourth level of trance consisting of inhalation and exhalation and sat in the air. Noticing that no one was with the Dear Lord, the attendants came quickly, saw the prince seated in the air, and informed the king. The king, who heard those words, coming quickly, seeing his son who was seated in the air and the tree with a shadow that remained without moving from this side to that side like other shade-giving trees, becoming astonished, bowing down, prostrated and venerated him.

From that point, after seven years, having played water sports in the [lotus-shaped] pond created by Śakra, king of the gods, with one thousand bends, with one hundred fords, and which was decorated with the five kinds of lotuses, he reached sixteen years of age like the full moon that has increased [in size] from digit to digit. The great King Śuddhodhana who saw that illustrious form [of his son], thinking, "I see my son enjoying fame and glory," sent word to the forty thousand kings of the Śākya clan, saying, "May you send your own daughters, who have come of age, as wives for my son."

The kings who heard that replied, "Although Prince Siddhārtha excels others in terms of delicate form and prosperity, he does not know any branches of learning. Therefore, he is unable to support a wife. We will not give our daughters." The Noble One, who heard that message from the father-kings, sitting on the throne in the royal courtyard, having the bow that can only be drawn by one thousand people brought, and placing the tip of the bow on the top of the toenail of his big toe on his left foot, fixing the bowstring on the bow with just his left hand, and raising the bowstring like a bow that cleans cotton, plucked it with his hand. The kings, having heard that sound, deafening all of Kiṁbulvat, which measured a league, thinking, "That is the sound of a thunderbolt striking," went into the palace with fear. Hearing the words spoken by those who knew the real situation,

"Please do not be afraid. It is the noise of Prince Aṅgīrasa plucking the bowstring with his hand,"[21] and having strung their own bows respectively, they came quickly.

The Bodhisattva, displaying various arts of archery, depicting pavilions and palaces [symbolically] like the city of the gods with the arrows he shot, depicting the series of rungs on a ladder to the world of the gods with arrows, depicting the lotus ponds in the autumn season with arrows, and tying a *baṭu* fruit to a horse's hair, hanging it four *gavu*s away in the thick darkness of night, in which the directions were obscured by a mass of rainclouds, he fully illumined it with the tip of the [first] arrow that he shot, and shooting an arrow again, splitting the horse's hair through the middle without cutting it, he managed to bury the same arrow in the earth. Then exhibiting all the branches of learning that exist in the world, he became king, accompanied by 196,000 harem women and 40,000 royal princesses offered by the kings who were pleased, including Queen Yaśōdharā, who was the chief of them all.

And [the Bodhisattva,] having lived the household life for twenty-nine years, seeing divine messengers, namely, old age, sickness, and death in succession when he was going to the park, becoming disillusioned about *saṃsāra*, again returned to the palace. And while on the path to the park on the fourth day, happily seeing a recluse created by the gods, he sported in the park for the rest of the day. And desiring to be adorned, sitting on the royal stone slab, being adorned like Śakra, king of the gods, with divine and human ornaments by Viśvakarma, who had been ordered by Śakra to come, and while going [through the city] and fulfilling the wishes of the multitude of city women longing for the sight of him and offering the blue water lily flowers of their glances on the flower altar of the raised platforms by the road in the afternoon, and sprinkling the water of their glimmering fingernails, the Bodhisattva, hearing the verse spoken by a female cousin named Kisāgotamī,

> Surely the mother is contented, surely the father is contented,
> surely the wife who has a lord such as this is contented,[22]

that is, "If any mother received a gem of a son like this, she would be contented. She would not wish for children again. If there were any father who received a son like this, he would be contented. For whatever woman who did merit, if this ocean of beauty personified became her husband,

that woman would be contented. She would not wish for another husband, even secretly," and he, thinking, "I have been made to hear the verse on nirvana, which I am seeking," and sending a pearl necklace that was like a beam of moon rays, which caused the milky ocean of her joy to rise, went to the palace while attracting and satisfying the eyes of the crowd of people throughout that city like the offerings of eyes he gave in his previous births.

And while lying on the bed that was white and soft like a mound of cotton, seeing the transformation of the group of women who were sleeping,[23] becoming dispassioned about royal prosperity, thinking that the three worlds were like a bundle of grass that was ablaze, and rising from the bed, he dispatched [his servant] Channa who was sleeping on the threshold, saying, "Prepare the horse." Then going to the sleeping chamber of Biṁbādēvī [i.e., his wife Yaśōdharā], opening the door with the blade of his sword, and while placing one foot inside the threshold and looking, seeing the prince who had not yet discarded his attachment to the womb and was close to Biṁbādēvī like a branch of coral in the milky ocean, and who slept on the golden bed that was worth a crore and was covered with one and one-half *amuṇu*s of jasmine flowers, and having lifted twenty-five blankets of fine cloth and the one hundred sheets on the golden bed, placing Biṁbādēvī's hands aside, he thought, "Should I stroke the child?" and "Were the small palm of this child, who is tender and delicate, to touch my neck, it would be like a noose placed around my neck to prevent me from becoming a Buddha. How can I rescue twenty-four incalculables of children with affection directed toward a single son? Having attained Buddhhood, I will come and see my child." And when he pulled his foot back outside the chamber, I think my Dear Lord was on the way to becoming a Buddha.[24]

Having departed from that place, going to where the horse was prepared, climbing and sitting on the back of the horse Kanthaka, who was eighteen cubits long, and traveling with Channa about four *gavu*s on the road whereupon the [royal] drum is sent for proclamations, and coming to the palace gate, he thought, "Taking along my attendant and horse, I will jump over the wall of eighteen cubits and go." [Meanwhile] the gods thought, "Should we not open this gate for the Dear Lord, who has never closed his door upon seeing the sixteen kinds of alms recipients, such as the orator, the wayfarer, the *Purāṇa* storyteller, the debater, the traveler, the speaker, the rogue, the mute person, the war veteran, the

actor, the crippled person, the blind person, the deaf person, the lame person, the diseased person, and the poor person for four incalculables and 100,000 eons?" And when he departed from the gate that had been opened by the gods,[25] Vaśavarti Māra, coming and remaining in the air, interrupted him with this verse,

> Do not renounce, Great Hero. On the seventh day from now,
> The divine Wheel-Gem will certainly appear.[26]

That is, "Hey! Prince Siddhārtha, on the seventh day from today, the kingdom of a Universal Monarch will appear to you. Rule over the world-realm, arranged into four great continents and surrounded by two thousand small islands! Do not go to become a Buddha! Obstacles will befall my four hells. The path there will be lost. When you become a Buddha, upon hearing your sermon, the six divine worlds will become filled [with beings reborn in heaven]. Do not go!" Then the Bodhisattva asked, "Who are you?" "I am Vaśavarti Māra," he said. Thus having heard the words that Māra spoke, my Dear Lord recited these verses:

> Look Māra, I know the appearance of your wheel,
> I am not a seeker of kingship. Go Māra! Do not stay here.
> Having caused the entire ten thousand world-realms to resound,
> I will become a Buddha, the great leader in the world.[27]

That is, "Māra, I know that your kingship of a Universal Monarch will appear. But I do not desire the kingship of a Universal Monarch. Do not stay, Māra! Shaking the earth in the ten thousand world-realms as if shaking your heart with sorrow, I will become a Buddha. Do not remain here, rise and flee." Then hearing the words that were spoken, Māra said, "From this point on, I will know if any thought such as lust arises in you. You watch your step."

Having spoken thus, when he rose and went, the Bodhisattva, not regarding the kingdom that had come into his hands even as much as a lump of spittle spat out in the early morning, set off on the full-moon day in the month of Äsaḷa at midnight under the Uturusaḷa asterism.[28] At that time, he traveled 120 *gavu*s in the early morning along with the gods, who remained [close by], taking sixty-eight lakhs of lamps in that direction, thinking, "May the darkness be dispelled," and decorated the

world-realm up to its rim with a procession of offerings.[29] And making the horse jump across to the other bank of the river Anomā, which was 108 cubits wide, the venerable one, standing upon a white sand bank, cutting the knot of head-hair along with the flower chaplet with the royal sword, and thinking, "If I become a Buddha on the journey on which I am embarking, may [this topknot] remain in the sky," threw it. Seeing that knot of head-hair rise up four *gavu*s in the air and remain decorating the air with blue rays, Śakra, king of the gods, received it with a gold casket four *gavu*s in length and width, and built a relic shrine with blue sapphire gems twelve *gavu*s high called the "Crest-Gem Shrine" [*siḷumiṇi sā̃*]. Therefore it has been said,

Cutting the topknot that was perfumed with an excellent scent,
The Bull of the Sakyas threw it into the sky.
The One Thousand-Eyed One, [Śakra] the king of the gods,
received it
With an excellent casket on his head.[30]

Thereupon the Great Brahmā Ghaṭikāra, who was an old friend at the time of Kasup [Kāśyapa] Buddha, thinking because of the friendship [he had with the Bodhisattva] that had continued for one Buddha-interval, "Today my esteemed friend has set off for the Great Renunciation. I will go and take the requisites to him," namely,

Three robes and a bowl, a razor, needle, belt, and water strainer,
These are the eight things suitable for the use of a monk,[31]

and bringing the requisites thus mentioned, he gave them [to Siddhārtha]. Putting on the robes, he threw the two garments he had worn into the air. Those two garments rose up in the sky as if declaring, "When he becomes a Buddha, the beams of his Buddha rays will radiate in this manner." With clothes that have been worn and discarded by other kings, washerpersons put them in their bundle and go away. But the Great Brahmā, who illumines the ten thousand world-realms with his ten fingers, carrying the clothes that had been worn and abandoned by my Dear Lord upon his head, went away and built a relic shrine out of the seven precious materials called the Jeweled Shrine of the Garments [*saḷumiṇi sā̃*] forty-eight *gavu*s high in the *brahmā*-world. Thereupon, the Noble One

performed acts of severe asceticism for six years. In the seventh year, when the time of the alms-round under the Visā asterism came on a Tuesday on the full-moon day of Vesaňga [Vesak], having come to the foot of the Ajapal [Ajapāla] banyan tree, he sat down, shining with the joy of his attainments.

In a market town named Senānī in the country of Uruvel, a maiden named Sujātā, the daughter of the wealthy householder Senānī, had gone [earlier] to the foot of that very banyan tree and said, "If I were to receive a son as my first-born, being betrothed in my young age to a boy with a birth [*jāti*] like mine, I will spend a lakh of wealth each year and give milk-rice [as an offering]." Having thus propitiated the diety of that banyan tree, coming of age, marrying a wealthy nobleman in Baraṇäs [Benares], and upon receiving a son named Yasa, feeding 1,000 cows in a grove of liquorice creepers, feeding the milk of those 1,000 cows to 500 cows, and milking those 500 cows, feeding it to 250 cows, and milking the milk of those 250 cows, feeding it to 125 cows, and milking the milk of those 125 cows, feeding 64 cows, and milking their milk, feeding it to 32 cows, and milking the milk of the 32 cows, feeding 16 cows, and milking the milk of those 16 cows, feeding 8 cows, and when the essence of milk-fat from the 8 cows was produced in this manner, rising in the morning of the full-moon day of Vesaňga, and when the new vessels that had been placed [under the cows] were filled with milk even before the calves came to their udders to milk them, Sujātā, who saw that miracle, taking the milk with her own hands, putting it in a fresh clay pot, and building a fire with wood from the aloe, pine, camphor, sandlewood, and dark creeper trees, began to cook the milk-rice.

When that rice was being cooked, bubbles like big balls of crystal boiled up and moved to the right [around in the pot]. Not even a single drop of milk spilled out from the clay pot. Not even a little bit of smoke from that hearth rose upward. Then the four regent deities, having come, stood guarding the four directions at the hearth. King Śakra, who is the ruler of the gods of the two divine worlds, having come, pushed the burning bamboo firebrands into the hearth and kindled the fire. The Great Brahmā stood raising a jeweled white parasol with a circumference of twelve *gavu*s and a height of forty-eight *gavu*s over the top of the hearth. The gods of the ten thousand world-realms, each having brought all the sweet tastes in the divine world and human world, as if pressing a wild bee hive and taking the honey, put them in that milk vessel. Sujātā,

having seen that wonder, calling a maid-servant named Pūrṇā, said, "Sister, I have not seen a wonder like this before. Go today very early in the morning, sweep the shrine of the god, and come back."

The maid-servant Pūrṇā, accepting the words spoken by Sujātā with the utmost respect, going to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree, seeing the Noble One who was seated toward the east and was decorating the tree with golden rays like the disk of the young sun near a dark blue rain-cloud, thinking, "Today our deity has come down from the tree. He sat down to accept the milk-rice by hand," and becoming afraid, she went away hurriedly and told the mistress. Hearing that account, Sujātā promoted that maid-servant to a position [in the household] second to herself. Then adorning herself with all these ornaments such as gold bracelets, an ornamented girdle, anklets, ear-ornaments, a single-strand necklace, toe-rings, foot bracelets, ankle rings, foot ornaments, toe ornaments, toenail ornaments, foot plates, nettings of small bells, rings for the hands, bangles, a gold waist-chain, jeweled hand bracelets, jeweled bangles, gold bangles, ornaments around her ears, *pamutuliňga*, necklaces, and cloth embroidered with gold, filling a solid gold bowl worth a lakh with milk-rice for him, covering it with a similar gold dish, and having covered it with a white cloth, placing it on her head like the disk of the young sun that rises in the morning, and while causing the face-lotuses of beings to bloom with happiness, accompanied by sixteen thousand women and the sound of sixty-eight thousand drums being beaten throughout the world-realm, going to the foot of the banyan tree, handing the bowl to one of the women, she bowed her face to his feet as if turning a lotus over upon another lotus. And while she continued worshiping, seeing how the Noble One looked at her without stretching out his hand because the bowl given to him by Brahmā had disappeared, and opening the dish that covered [the offering], saying "I give you this dish to partake of food," and having offered it to his hands, she spoke joyful words, "May your wish, Sir, be fulfilled just as my wish has been fulfilled."

And after they had gone, he took the bowl and put it on a sand bed on the bank named Supratiṣṭhīta along the river Nerañjarā. And when he bathed, scrubbing with the hands of the waves on the girl of the river, which had a line of hair of the flow of water running in reverse, an ornamented necklace of drops of water running in a row, and hips of river-banks, and then ascending out of the water on to land, going like the disk of the young sun that rises up from the summit of the Yugaňduru Mountain,

sitting on the sand bed, making forty-nine balls and eating the rice, he thought, "If I am to become a Buddha today, may the dish float upstream." Then the golden bowl he placed on top of the blue water, going upstream like a disk of the sun in autumn, remaining a moment, [then] entering the realm of the *nāga* king Kāla, raising the three bowls of the three Buddhas called Kakusaňda, Konāgamana, and Kāśyapa above it, settled at the bottom, making the sound *ḳrīṅ*. Mahākeḷa, the *nāga* king, heard that sound and awoke. Then saying, "Yesterday, the day before, and the day prior to that we eulogized the virtues of the three Buddhas. Hasn't a Buddha appeared today as well? Let us go forth," and being accompanied by eighty thousand *nāga* maidens and ten thousand crores of *nāga*s, creating one thousand mouths, he began to eulogize the virtues of the Buddha.

The Dear Lord, having spent the day in the fully blossomed *sal* grove on that bank, and while receiving offerings in the afternoon through the pollen of heavenly flowers scattered by gods, *brahmā*s, *nāga*s, and *garuḍa*s along the path decorated with rows of various multicolored banners and with white parasols of gold from the *sal* grove up to the Bodhi Seat, placing golden water pots on the jeweled ground over which was spread golden robes and golden sand in a place that was about eight *isba*s in width,[32] decorating it with garlands of divine blue water lilies, raising here and there golden archways, silver archways, flowered archways, cloth archways, gold festooned pillars, jewel festooned pillars, flower festooned pillars, and festooned pillars of lamps, and tying nettings of small tinkling bells that tinkle with a pleasing sound, and while the heavenly drums and heavenly dancing continued, while the ten thousand world-realms became like one flower-altar, like a single casket of perfumes, like a single vessel of perfumes, like a single vessel of camphor, and while they resounded together with the sounds of the *sādhuḳāra*,[33] accepting eight handfuls of *ḳusa* grass given by a brahmin named Sotthīya, who fulfilled perfections for a hundred thousand eons, approaching the Bodhi Tree, putting his back to the south, sat facing north.

At that moment, it appeared as if the southern world-realm sank and hit the netherworld. And the northern world-realm rose up and appeared to strike the highest point of existence. The Dear Lord, thinking, "I cannot become a Buddha in this spot," circumambulating the Bodhi Tree, which was like an umbrella of blue sapphires with a silver handle, three times, proceeded to the west and saw that region also shaking in that manner. Thus seeing the earth in the three regions shake like a dewdrop on a lotus

leaf, thinking, "My virtues cannot be fully supported here," going to the east, and seeing the ground lie there without shaking, realizing, "This is the place where the previous Buddhas dispelled the darkness of the defilements," and taking the grass with his hand, scattering it on the grassy seat of fourteen cubits that rose up and split open the earth as if demarcating it with the tip of a painter's brush, he sat on top of the seat toward the east, putting his back to the trunk of the Great Bodhi Tree with a resolution for vigor accompanied by the four aspects.[34]

Śakra, the great king of the gods, surrounded by ten thousand *śakra*s, took his own conch, which was 120 cubits [long]. And having taken the Jayaturā Conch that, when blown once, makes a sound that spreads throughout the city of the gods for ten thousand leagues [*yodun*] and subsides only after four months,[35] began to blow on behalf of the Dear Lord. Sixty-eight conches, encircling that conch, sounded by themselves in the sky for him as if deafening the three worlds. Ten thousand *śakra*s like that one began to blow conches. The ten thousand *santuṣita* gods shook sixty thousand golden chowries that were three *gavu*s high. The ten thousand *suyāma* gods shook ten thousand jeweled palm-leaf fans that had a circumference of three *gavu*s. How were the ten thousand *pañcaśikha* gods decorated? Their bodies that were three *gavu*s high like a mountain were decorated, as they adorned themselves with a crown of precious materials one *gavu* high and with ornaments that filled one thousand carts, and they put on a scented, silken cloth the length of forty *gavu*s—and if that cloth were placed in one spot, its fragrance would spread the distance of two hundred *gavu*s. A perfumed scent wafted and descended throughout four hundred [*gavu*s]. Only after three crores and sixty lakhs of years have passed, will the cloth become dirty. When put down and rolled up it is like the *tuṁba* flower or the *dummāḷla* flower. Each wore a wondrous garment like that. Each daubed four *yāḷa*s and ten *amuṇa*s of perfumes on his body. Each adorned himself with one and one-half *yāḷa*s of fragant flowers such as the campaka, ironwood, *sihingenda*, jasmine, the two *idda*s, fragrant water lilies, *parasatu*, *ḳovilāra*, blue water lily, *dunuḳē*, *väṭaḳē*, *ḳarāḳē*, *saugandhiḳa*, *maruvaḳa*, and the *vidävana*.

Thus the ten thousand *pañcaśikha* gods, decorating and fitting strings made of gold jewels, rubies, cat's-eye gems, and the seven precious materials on the Beluvapaṇḍu *vīṇā*, which has a height of three *gavu*s, a cover made of coral, strings made of silver, and frets made of blue sapphires, and produces ambrosia for the ears of the entire world when it is

played once, began to play with 10,991 notes. Fifty thousand groups assembled individually along with one thousand female deities who were singing along with sixty-eight thousand drums, and began to dance while reciting the virtues of the Buddha. Divine princes and divine princesses numbering three hundred and twenty thousand each stood up with jeweled caskets and lighted torches. Ten thousand great *sahampatī brahmā*s, surrounded by one million *brahmā*s, stood holding white umbrellas that were twelve *gavu*s wide. Forty thousand regent deities, surrounded by four hundred *prakoṭis* of armies and two hundred and eighty thousand *yakṣa* generals,[36] saying, "We will not let any enemies enter," stood taking watch in the four directions.

3

THE DEFEAT OF MĀRA

Vaśavarti Māra said, "Prince Siddhārtha wishes to crush and transcend my domain. Now he is seated at the foot of the Bodhi Tree. Seizing his two feet right now, I will throw him to the other world-realm. I will not allow him to transcend my domain." Then having brought an army of ten battalions,[1] he stationed eight battalions in each of the eight directions along the rim of the World-realm Mountain. And he said, "Let one battalion take a position in the sky not allowing the little gods and *brahmā*s to escape. Going by land and taking one battalion, as much as the earth can sustain, I know what to say to Prince Siddhārtha." The armies who heard that speech, assuming different appearances from one another, and with ears filled with the cruel words of Māra, who said, "Take Prince Siddhārtha, bind him, beat him, do not release him, and taking him by the feet, launch him into the other world-realm," thinking, "Having been stationed in the the ten directions in accordance with this speech, is it not proper to stand guard for one's own leader?" took watch up to a distance of forty-eight *gavu*s on the right side. The god Māra sat on the back of the majestic elephant named Girimēkhalā, who had a height of 150 leagues, who was like a mountain of dark collyrium, with columns of fire shooting out from the two sides of his mouth, who was like another Māra in appearance, who deafened the interior of the world-realm with his trumpeting, and who held aloft a fiery iron bar. Then Māra, having created one

thousand arms for himself, taking up various shining weapons, yelled out, "I am Vaśavarti Māra!"

That cry deafened the interior of the world-realm from the Avīci hell up to the tip of the highest *brahmā* world. The battle drums that were beaten by the army, which stood in the eight directions, split the ears of the gods who were within one thousand *gavu*s. The gods who heard that tumult, looking on inquisitively, seeing the army of Māra, broke apart and ran in different directions like a heap of cotton balls struck by the world-dissolution wind at the end of an eon. The *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, without even turning around and looking at the eighty thousand *nāga* maidens, thinking, "I can look after the wives later," diving into the earth and fleeing, fell flat on his face in the *nāga* abode. The forty thousand regent deities, thinking, "Where did they go?" with respect to each of their own retinues, and not knowing [where], thought, "We can stand guard for the Buddha later. Let us protect our lives," and went away to hide in their respective abodes.

Śakra, king of the gods, being unable to ascertain the top or bottom of the conch he held in his hand, throwing it on the World-realm Mountain, broke away and fled with the army of ten thousand *śakra*s. The Great Brahmā, having flung the white umbrella he held in his hand to the rim of the World-realm Mountain, not knowing where his *brahmā* retinue went, fled to the *brahmā*-world. As for the Bodhisattva, the Teacher of the Three Worlds, who is my Dear Lord, he sat alone in the middle of Māra's army like a radiant majestic swan in the middle of a flock of crows, not regarding that army even as a bunch of locusts falling into the mass of fire of his radiance. The great earth lurched to the left and began to shake. A great wind broke the trunks of a multitude of trees, decorated the sky with a heap of soil that hurled along, being spun together with the [tree] trunks where they rose up and revolved around, made a deep noise like the thunder of a new raincloud above some mansions, obstructed the vision of travelers with a heap of gravel that rose up from the highways, and producing the echoing sound *sat, sat*, blew very violently. People say that when a thousand people have been slain, one figure dances in the air with its face on its belly. At that moment thousands of such figures started to dance. The disk of the sun set as if it was hiding in fear of the army of Māra. The ten directions were smoking and became dark. Thousands of terrifying meteorites fell from the sky.

During these terrifying sights, a troop wielding the sword charged, saying, "I will strike and split Prince Siddhārtha in two halves." A troop wielding the bow charged, saying, "We will shoot and bore holes in him like a lattice window." Then squeezing the bow-handle and taking the feathers of the arrow very softly as it if were a flower being offered, thinking, "Now is the time to shoot," and covering [the target] with the handle of the bow, decorating their ear with the shine of their fingernail that had fully drawn the bowstring along with their breath, and turning the finger that became red, putting it inside the feathers of the bow, aiming the tip of the arrow up, and while looking and closing one eyelid from below it, they continued to charge. A troop wielding axes charged, saying, "We will split and cut the bones of his body into little pieces." Another one charged taking lances and said, "We will pierce and lift him up [in the air]." Another one charged wielding ploughs and said, "We will throw him on the earth and plough right through him." Another one charged wielding pestles and said, "We will crush him like a measure of paddy on the ground." Another one charged wielding iron bars and said, "We will throw him on the ground and fix pegs into him as if making a hide taut." Another one charged wielding two-pointed javelins and said, "We will stab and make two holes in him." Another one charged wielding spears and said, "We will throw [these] forcefully and pierce him." Another one charged wielding heavy rocks and said, "We will crush him like sandlewood on a grinding stone." Another one charged wielding fiery iron balls and said, "We will drop these and burn his skull." Another one charged wielding serrated quoits and said, "We will cut his throat all around." Another one charged wielding javelins and said, "We will split him in the middle." Another one charged wielding shining iron chains and said, "We will imprison him and chain his hands and feet." Another one charged wielding ropes and said, "We will tie him up, put him on the ground, beat him, and kill him." Another one charged wielding the thunderbolt weapon [*vajrāyudha*] and said, "We will split his heart and take his flesh." Another one charged wielding tridents and said, "We will split his belly and expose his entrails." And some others charged, saying, "Having split his belly and taken his entrails out, while circling them around my neck, I will drink the blood with both hands." Some others charged, having assumed the forms of *yakṣa*s, *preta*s, and *piśāca*s. Still others charged, having assumed the forms of elephants, horses, bears,

leopards, mules, dogs, cats, jackals, and owls. Then Māra said, "Why are you hesitating? Kill Prince Siddhārtha immediately!" The army, who heard those words, shouting out a cry that deafened the three worlds, launched the weapons they held in their hands. But all those weapons fell down like a rain of flowers pouring from the sky.

Having seen that wonder, my Dear Lord reflected, "This army of Māra stands before me in ten divisions. But did I not raise a following too? Won't the ten warriors, namely my perfections [*pāramitā*], which were developed and increased over four incalculable world-periods and one hundred thousand eons, utterly defeat this army?"[2]

And with that thought, the warrior, namely the Perfection of Giving [*dāna*], became very determined. "Lord! Please do not entertain any doubts. The fact that you have cultivated me cannot be ignored. The Dear Lord, having been born in a family of nobles [long ago],[3] while being seated to finish a meal of rice, seeing a *paccekabuddha* who came requesting alms, taking and filling his bowl, then turned to offer it. Vaśavarti Māra, thought, 'If I block that gift of alms, it will be an obstacle to this one's Buddhahood. It will also be an obstacle to the life of the *paccekabuddha*. Today there will be two gains for me. I will block the gift of alms.' Then having created a fire pit eighty cubits in length and width, wielding a shining iron hammer that was lit on fire and remaining in the sky, he said, 'If that bowl of rice is given, I will split your head into seven pieces with my shining iron hammer that is on fire. Do not give it!' The Dear Lord said, 'Who are you?' And having heard him say, 'I am Vaśavarti Māra,' he replied, 'Even a thousand *māra*s like you cannot block my gift of alms.' Māra said, 'You, Great Being, who aspires to become a Buddha, won't you jump into the fire and fulfill my intentions?' Saying, 'If that is the case, I will jump into the fire and fulfill your intentions,' and turning to the *paccekabuddha*, saying, 'I offer this, having realized the three aspects in me, and with the two aspects that are in you. May you accept this offering endowed with the five aspects,'[4] and having thus invited him [to accept it], you leapt into the fire pit.

"A white lotus flower that was covered with seven thousand petals, splitting open that fire pit, showing the white filaments of its teeth, sprang up as if laughing from having defeated Māra. Treading on that flower pedicle, standing and having given alms, you did not do anything else to defeat Māra. You did this so that there would not be any deficiency in me, whom they call the 'Perfection of Giving.' Will I not perform an act of

service for the Dear Lord who is like that? Please stay seated," and having said that, one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Giving warrior ran, broke up and fell off the rim of the world-realm.[5] Seeing the assembly of nine battalions who remained ready [for battle] and saying, "Look! One battalion from among us has been broken up. We ourselves will fight the battle they were fighting," he recalled, "Where might my warrior, namely the Perfection of Morality [*śīla*], be?"

The warrior, namely the Perfection of Morality, appeared before him and said, "Why! Did you think that I had fallen behind and left? Sir, [when you were born] as a *nāga* king,[6] who abandoned the attachment to prosperity and abided by the precepts, a brahmin snake charmer who was passing by on the road, having seen you reclining on a white ants' hill, endowed with a series of white coils like the disk of the full moon on top of an evening cloud, thought, 'It would be good if I catch this *nāga* king and earn some wealth.' Then approaching while reciting charms and chewing medicine, he spat at your body. Pain arose on the places where the spittle hit you as if boils were rising up. However, because you did not even look at him in anger, aside from the feeling of physical pain, I do not think you felt any mental suffering. Having seized your tail, having thrashed your length on the earth as if the heavenly river were to fall on the ground, having squeezed you with a forked stick like a goat's hoof, seizing your tail, circling you around his head in the manner that heretics might say, 'Could this be Īśvara dancing together with the heavenly river?' and weakening you, then putting a soft stick in your mouth, he broke your fangs.

"Your mouth filled with blood like the affection that you felt toward him. When you suffered this much pain, not being seized by nor looking with even a trace of anger toward him, you did not think of anything else. You did not see any deficiency in me, whom they call the 'Perfection of Morality.' Would I not perform an act of service now for the Dear Lord who helped like that?" And one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Morality warrior ran, broke up and fell off the rim of the world-realm. Having observed the army of eight battalions who remained ready [for battle] and saying, "Look! Another troop from among us has broken up. We will fight the battle that they were fighting," he recalled, "Where then is my Perfection of Renunciation [*naiṣkramya*]?"

The warrior, namely the Perfection of Renunciation, turned and ran up. "Lord, when you were born as King Cullasutasōma,[7] having seen a grey hair on your head, you thought, 'When old age has seized the hair

on my head, should I reign as a slave to craving?' And on that very day, having abandoned all your wealth like a cesspit filled with excrement, with the intention 'I will become ordained,' calling your son who had been the viceroy, handing over the kingdom, you did not consent to the words of the queen, who spoke with grief, 'Please take us along too.' The queen, out of grief felt for her husband whom she knew from her youth, with hands beating her chest, shaking the hair on her head that had been let down her back, and while weeping, said, 'Dear son, your father is leaving us to go away for the ascetic life. Can't you stop him?'

"Hearing the words of his mother and saying, 'Mother, I will stop my father. Please do not grieve,' and having stemmed his mother's weeping, then going up to his father, saying, 'Father, are you going away for the ascetic life, leaving a young, tender, affectionate son like me for good?' and having embraced your neck with both arms, he said, 'If you are clever enough, may you remove my arms, rise up and go.' My Dear Lord, who heard these words, thought, 'What this one has said is true. I cannot remove against his will the two arms of my young, tender, affectionate child that have fallen around my neck. But if I remain out of affection toward this one son, how then will I release about twenty-four incalculables of children who will experience suffering in *saṃsāra* in the future?' And while thinking of ways to remove his arms, calling a wet-nurse and saying, 'Now I will give this gem [of a son] to you. Having loosened [the grip of] the child, go and take him away to play,' and saying, 'Here is the gem,' handing over the gem to her, and after she carried the child away, going forth into the forest, practicing austerities there for many days, and not regarding royal prosperity and your child even [as much] as a lump of spittle that is spat out in the early morning, you made that sacrifice for me, whom they call 'Renunciation.' Will I not perform an act of service for the Dear Lord, who protected me while giving up royal prosperity in crores of births like this?" And one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Renunciation warrior ran, broke up and fell away from the World-realm Mountain. Having seen the army of seven battalions that remained ready [for battle], he recalled, "Where then might my Perfection of Wisdom [*prajñā*] be?"

The warrior, namely the Perfection of Wisdom, ran up to him. Saying, "I have not gone away. I remain nearby," he became emboldened. "One time when you were giving a sermon as the Pandit Senaka,[8] the young

wife of a certain brahmin, employing a female trick [*gāṇu māyamaḳ*] in order to send him away to make room in the house [for her paramour], said, 'Brahmin, if you do not find a girl or boy helper for me, I will not remain in your house even for a moment.' Having heard what the brahmin woman said, he answered, 'Good Lady! I know no branch of learning. Nor do I have any other wealth. How am I to bring you a girl or boy helper?' The brahmin woman who heard those words, thinking, 'When this fellow is near me, he certainly suspects me, [so] having sent him away by some kind of trick, I will dwell without worry,' she said, 'Brahmin, do you not have the strength to go by foot? Was it not for begging that you were born a brahmin? You stupid, broken-toothed old man! Without remaining at home, curling up and making the bed sag, walk around the country and beg for gold. Then take it and get a girl or boy helper for me.'

"Having heard those words, the brahmin, taking provisions for the road such as sweetcakes and edibles made by the female brahmin, strengthening the weak parts of the house, fetching wood and storing it in the house, fetching water also, filling the pots, storing rice and betel, strengthening the door so that it could not be opened by the hand-bolt by young men at dusk, and calling his young wife, saying, 'Dear wife, death is surely something that cannot be predetermined. If there is something that I have said [to upset you], please forgive me. Be mindful of your life until I return. Do not venture outside at odd times. If a thief were to harm you, it would be a [great] loss to me. Also do not engage in any intimate conversation with others, but even if you do, remember in the meantime that you have a husband who adores you,' and circumambulating his wife three times, lowering himself on the ground in the four directions, he prostrated and venerated her. And going down [from the house] reluctantly, having embraced, kissed and consoled her, taking his leave, and taking these such articles that are appropriate for brahmins, namely, a string of beads, a cloth umbrella, a book of *mantra*s, a bag of pills, a water jug, a pair of sandals with a single strap, a walking stick, and a conch, and putting the sack over his shoulder, he set off, begging throughout the country. Then having acquired seven hundred gold coins, coming back toward the village, and being afflicted with hunger, sitting at a convenient spot where there was water, loosening the sack, and eating a portion of the sweetcakes, he went to drink water without tying up the sack.

"At that time, a poisonous and fearsome cobra who was living in a white ants' hill nearby, slithering into the sack because of the smell of the sweetcakes, coiled himself up inside. The brahmin, returning from drinking water, tying up the sack without looking inside, put it on his shoulder and set off. A certain deity, thinking, 'I will speak to the brahmin in a riddle for the sake of showing the gods and humans the incomparable wisdom of the Pandit Senaka, who is my Dear Lord,' said, 'Brahmin, if you go to your home, your wife will die. If you remain on the path, you will die.' Having heard the words spoken by a diety, he thought, 'I am unable to go home, and I am unable to remain on the path. What then shall I do?' And while weeping and wiping his tears with the tips of his fingernails, seeing those who were going to listen to the preaching of my Pandit Senaka with flowers and lamps in their hands, he asked, 'Where are you going?' Having heard the words of the women and men who said, 'We are going to listen to the preaching of the Pandit Senaka,' the brahmin thought, 'Pandits are certainly able to dispel any amount of grief and suffering with their wisdom.[9] I will go there and then resume my journey.' Then having gone, having placed the sack on his shoulder, he remained weeping at the edge of the sermon audience.

"At that time, my Dear Lord, whose graceful form was mind-captivating like the disk of the young sun that has risen up from the peak of the Udayagiri Mountain, preached a sermon pointing out this world and the next world as if taking the stream of water in the heavenly river and bathing all beings. They say the voice of that Noble One was acquired from the power of his good deeds accomplished during four incalculable world-periods and one hundred thousand eons. They say it was a sweet sermon spoken as if he was opening his mouth to expel the affection [*snēhaya*] that had accumlated for endless and immeasurable beings because it cannot be held in his stomach.[10] What a speech! What learnedness! What insight into this world and the next world! What a moving exposition of the Dharma! Was it not pleasing as if honey had been poured into the ear of whoever heard his sermon? Whose eyes were not moistened with tears of joy? Whose eyes did not dance on their forehead [in amazement]. Whose hair on their body did not stand on end out of happiness? Whose mouth did not become talkative with the *sādhuḳāra*?[11] Who did not think, 'I have reaped the fruits of my existence'?

"Thus in the midst of the sermon audience that was amazed like this, the Dear Lord, while delivering the sermon, looking far and near, brought

joy to the faces that were not joyous, and brought further joy to the joyous faces. And while giving the sermon and looking around, having seen a single brahmin who remained weeping at the edge of the sermon audience, he inquired, 'Brahmin, why are you weeping?' 'Meritorious Great Being! Having heard from a deity, "If you go home your wife will die, if you remain on the path you will die," I am unable to go home, since if I go home my little wife who has a beautiful face might then die, and I am unable to stay on the path, since if I stay on the path and if I die, I might then not be able to see my wife again. Please advise me,' he said.

"Having heard that, the Noble One, perceiving the cause of dying and calling the brahmin forward, asked, 'Are there sweetcakes in that sack in your hand?' And when [the brahmin] said, 'There are,' he asked again, 'Have you eaten today?' And when he said, 'I ate,' you asked, 'While going to drink water, did you tie the sack tightly when you left? And having finished drinking water and coming back, did you look [in the sack] and tie it?' And having heard his words, 'I went without tying it. I tied it without looking,' you said, 'In that case, Brahmin, when you were going to drink water, a snake entered the sack because of the smell of the sweetcakes. You tied it up without having looked inside it. Having placed it on your shoulder, when you go home your wife, thinking, 'What is inside the sack?' would insert her hand in it. Then the snake would bite her hand and kill her. This is how your wife would die if you were to go home. But if you remain on the path, untying the sack and thinking, 'I will eat a piece of sweetcake,' it would bite your hand and kill you. This is how you would die if you were to remain on the path. Put the sack on the ground and poke it with a long stick.'

"The brahmin who heard that, standing as he was and shaking with fear, thinking, 'Could it be in the sack?' dropped it abruptly on the ground. At that time, the brahmin remained afraid, thinking, 'Without receiving even a thing for which I have begged, I will not see my wife either.' At that time, seeing the cobra that came out hissing with a forked tongue, everyone said, 'It is like the speech of an Omniscient One,' cried out in cheers of joy, and began to throw cloths and ornaments. The brahmin offered his seven hundred gold coins for which he had begged to the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva, adding three hundred coins from his side, making it one thousand [coins in all], asked, 'Brahmin, who sent you begging?' Having heard him say, 'My little wife,' and replying, 'She sent you away in order to make room in the house. She intends to give the

gold that you have begged for with great trouble to a paramour. Hiding the gold along the road and going home, do not tell your wife about the place where it is hidden,' and having thus admonished him, [you] sent him off.

"The brahmin, having gone at night, paused at the doorway and called out, 'Good Lady!' The other man who had the affection of the female brahmin was also in the house. The female brahmin, rising up and covering the lamp in the guise of moving around, dressing in a baggy cloth, hiding the [other] brahmin behind her, standing aside at the base of the lock post, opening the door and calling out, 'Why! Good Brahmin! You know about our helpless condition. Was the country where you went for such a long time pleasurable? Did you not remember me?' And while speaking thus, taking her husband's hand, making him squat with one knee in the middle of the house, and raising her foot that was pressed down [to conceal her paramour], sending the paramour through the doorway, grabbing and loosening the sack, but not seeing anything, became irritated and said, 'Have you come in the same manner that you left?'

"The brahmin, at that time, being unable to adhere to the instructions given by the Dear Lord because of the fear he felt, said, 'Dear Wife! Do not be angry with me. I put the one thousand gold coins that I brought at the foot of such and such a tree. There is no grove or foot of a tree that you do not know outside this village. Go in the morning and take a little gold.' At that time, the female brahmin, carrying water with her hands in the guise of washing her hands, going to the door, whispered in the ear of the paramour who stood at the door. Then he went and snatched away the gold from the spot where it was hidden by the brahmin. The brahmin, having gone in the morning and looked, not seeing the gold, [but] seeing the empty hole, with sorrow that was kindled in his heart and escaping from his mouth, sighing with an upturned face and thinking, 'If I go home, I will not recover this gold. There is no clever person to help me recover this gold except for the Pandit Senaka, who extinguishes the fire in the heart of all beings,' and running to the Dear Lord, he venerated him and stood panting on one side.

"At that time, because of the behavior of the brahmin, my Dear Lord said, 'Why Brahmin! Did you tell your wife what I had told you not to tell? Do not grieve. I will recover your gold. Taking the expenses from me and going back home, you shall invite seven brahmins and your wife shall invite seven brahmins for a gift of alms. Then remove one from

your side and one from her side each day in this manner. On the final day, when two persons, one from yours and one from hers are [left] eating the alms, come and inform me,' and sent him away. When the brahmin, having gone and acted in just that way, returned and spoke, the Bodhisattva had the brahmin who was eating alms from the female brahmin brought forth. Then he said, 'Brahmin, give back the one thousand coins that you took from the foot of such and such a tree immediately. If you do not return it, you know what will happen, don't you?' and having frightened him, he made him give back the one thousand coins.

"All the people who heard that news became happy. The Dear Lord amonished the brahmin who had stolen the gold, saying, 'Because of the wicked action you did in the past, you were born poor now. Because of the theft you committed now, you will come to suffering in the Four Miserable States, such as hell, in the future. Don't do anything like this hereafter.' At that time, the youths who were close by him, saying, 'Lord! He is not a brahmin who will adhere to this admonition. The trouble that the wicked brahmin did to the old brahmin was great,' and seizing him by the hand and neck, taking him outside, said, 'Without keeping a wife as your own, will you watch for an open door or closed door of others for the appropriate time and the inappropriate time [to engage in affairs]? Or will you not watch?' And having frightened the brahmin like a rooster that has fallen into the hands of a savage *yakṣa*, hitting him with their hands and feet like [the sound of] a palmyra fruit that falls from a withered stalk when the dry season rains fall in a grove of palmyra trees when fruit is produced during the months of Nikiṇi and Binara, they worked him over. The Dear Lord, having him brought [back], said, 'Brahmin, leaving aside the suffering that you will experience going to the next world as a result of your adulterous deed, have you not seen suffering also in this very world? Do not do this type of thing in the future,' and having admonished him, you established him in the Five Precepts. To the brahmin who had the wife, you said, 'Do you need this dishonest female brahmin who has no faithfulness or attachment to you?' 'Yes, Sir! If she were to be taken away, would I be cared for? It is like saying to someone asking for mangoes that there are this many breadfruits in the tree at the back door.[12] If I did not have my dear wife, who has a face like the moon, how will I be looked after?' And having heard what he said, the Dear Lord, having a house erected nearby, putting the brahmin and the wife there, and giving a boy or girl helper, looked after them. That also, Sir, you did not do

for anything else. You did it to increase my fame, whom they call the 'Perfection of Wisdom.' Now please be seated and watch," and one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Wisdom warrior ran, broke up and slammed [against] the World-realm Mountain.

Seeing the army of six battalions that remained ready [for battle] and saying, "Hey, look here! Another troop has broken up. Remain firm," he recalled the Perfection of Effort [*vīrya*].

At that time, [the Perfection of Effort,] saying, "You, Sir, having been born as King Mahājanaka,[13] and having boarded a ship, when the ship was wrecked at a time the ocean rose up, you jumped into the sea and swam for seven nights and seven days like a streak of lightning sporting in a dark blue rain cloud. When the goddess Maṇimekhalā came and said, 'What use is there in an act in which you cannot see the further shore? Isn't it only exhausting for your body? What is the use of such an effort?' you answered, 'Do not say that. Perishing without making an effort would be a cause for disgrace. But if one were to perish, having made the effort that is only right for people to do, there is no disgrace. Have you seen the fruit in the effort that I have made? Those who boarded the boat along with me, not having made an effort, drowned in the ocean. Having made the effort, I have received the sight and speech of a goddess like you. Isn't that the fruit in this effort?'

"And the goddess, hearing the words you said, praised you and said, 'What you said is true.' Then extending her divine touch, carrying you away, putting you on a stone slab in King Janaka's royal park, she took her leave and departed. The royal subjects, including the chief brahmin, sent a pleasure carriage out to you, ready to be ascended. When the brahmin who saw that happily invited you, 'May you become king and wear the crown,' having ruled for seven thousand years and having done austerities for three thousand years, you were born in the *brahmā* world at the end. Having made an effort by swimming in the ocean, arriving at this much prosperity, you did not display any deficiency in me, whom they call 'Effort.' Would I not do an act of service now for the Dear Lord who is like that?" And one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Effort warrior ran, broke up and scattered away from the World-realm Mountain.

Seeing the army of five battalions that remained ready [for battle] and saying, "Look here! Another troop from among us has broken up. We

will fight that battle ourselves," he recalled the warrior, namely the Perfection of Forbearance [*kṣānti*].

"At that time, Lord, when you were the ascetic Kṣāntivādi,[14] while dwelling in the park of King Kalābu at the request of the general, the king who sported in the park along with the royal harem put his head on the lap of a consort beneath a mango tree and went to sleep. The other women were seated near the Bodhisattva to hear a sermon. The consort, having shifted her lap, woke the king. The king looked here and there, and aside from that consort, did not see the sixteen thousand courtesans. He asked, 'Where did those mischievous girls go?' The young woman said, 'They are listening to a sermon from an ascetic.' And the king heard those words and said, 'I know what to do to him.'[15] Then having gone with sword in hand, he asked, 'Recluse! What doctrine do you profess?' The Dear Lord who heard that replied, 'I profess forbearance.' The king heard those words and said, 'Bring the whip of thorns to test this one's doctrine of forbearance.' And having it brought, pulling my precious Dear Lord from your seat, throwing you to the ground and saying, 'There will be one thousand lashes on his right side and one thousand lashes on his left side,' he had two thousand lashes delivered.

"When the welts were being formed, the Dear Lord, considering them as lines of victory over the heap of defilements that are vanquished in the kingdom of Buddhahood [*buddha rājyaya*], said, 'Forbearance is not found on my two sides.' Then saying, 'If that is so, cut off the two hands, the two feet, ears, and nose,' the king had them cut off. Then when you spoke words [as if] extending loving-kindness toward one who grasps the hands, feet, ears, and nose to massage them, 'Well, it is not in my hands, feet, ears, and nose that forbearance exists. It is established in my heart in a manner that cannot be disturbed even by one thousand *māra*s, much less by you,' the king replied, 'Is it in this place that forbearance has been established?' and began to stomp on your chest with his heel. I think that this king oppressed him, stomping with his heel, because the virtue of forbearance in the [Bodhisattva's] heart, which has been accumulated and retained toward the beings in the whole world, could not be contained.[16]

"Thus having finished afflicting various tortures, when the king left the sight of the Dear Lord, who was looking at him like a father who looks on with joy at a son to whom the wealth of kingdom has been conferred, and who thought, 'May that king not suffer because of the crime

he did to me,' the fiery flames from the great Avīci hell came rushing forth, split open the earth, covered the king's entire body, and dragged him down to hell. Although he had gone this way because of the force of his own karma, the Dear Lord, while bearing that much suffering and great anguish, did not display to the gods and humans any deficiency in me, whom they call 'Forbearance.' Would I not do an act of service now for you who are like that? Please observe," and one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Forbearance warrior ran, broke up and scattered away from the World-realm Mountain.

Seeing the assembly of the four battalions that remained ready [for battle] and saying, "Look! Yet another troop has been broken up. We will fight that battle ourselves also," he recalled the Perfection of Truth [*satya*].

At that moment, [the Perfection of Truth] saying, "Lord, when you were King Sutasōma,[17] while you were going to the garden to bathe under the Pusa asterism, the brahmin named Nanda said, 'I came traveling a long way to deliver a sermon called the "Satāraha Gāthā." Please listen to the sermon.' And having heard what he said, replying, 'On this day I must go and bathe under the Pusa asterism. I will come back and listen to the sermon. Please rest until then,' and having arranged food and a tent for the brahmin, having gone to the park and bathed, you sat down on the royal stone slab with the intention of adorning yourself. The king named Pōrisāda [or Man-eater], thinking that an adorned king is too heavy [to carry], emerging like a water-demon, dividing the water into two parts, putting the palm of his hand on his forehead, causing his sword to dance around his head, and announcing his name, 'Hey! I am Pōrisāda,' came running quickly like a column of fire that roars and runs at the time of the destruction of an eon.

"The elephant drivers who saw him fell down with their elephants. The horsemen fell down with their horses. The charioteers fell right on top of their chariots. The army of foot soldiers, having dropped their weapons, fell right where they stood. Although the retinue had broken up, [Pōrisāda] having seen the Bodhisattva, who was seated motionless like a majestic lion who has seen a baby elephant, had the affectionate thought, 'He is my teacher. I will not take him away by his two feet like I have taken away the other kings, their heads hitting against the calf of my leg.' Then having moved to the side and having venerated you, seating you on his shoulder, leaping over a nearby wall that was eighteen cubits high as if it was a section of a low dike because going through the gate

would take time, and while crushing the rows of elephants and horses that had fallen like a pile of rock peaks, crushing the poles of the chariots, making them dance like a hand top, and crushing the shields, bows, and so on, which were scattered like the dried leaves of a banyan tree, seeing that the army that stood guard about twelve *gavu*s away did not come following behind, and while going very slowly, he noticed that a drop of water from the face of the Dear Lord fell on his own chest. Thinking it was a tear drop, he thought, 'There is surely no one who does not fear death in this world. Even King Sutasōma who has world-transcending knowledge weeps because of his fear of death. I will ask about the cause.' He asked, 'Are you weeping because of the love for yourself? Or else are you weeping because of your relatives' grief? Or else are you weeping because of your attachment to kingship?' When you replied, 'I am not weeping for any of those things. I had decided to listen to a sermon from Nanda brahmin on the following day when I fell into your hands. I grieve thinking that those words will become a lie,' he said, 'Without thinking of protecting yourself and your great wealth, you are thinking only to protect the truth. What advantage do you see in truthfulness?'

"And after he asked, you replied, 'Look here Pōrisāda! If there is any kind of excellent taste among the various kinds of tastes on this earth, there is none that excels the taste of truth. Merely being established in the virtue of truthfulness, having gone to the other shore across the ocean of birth and death, people go to the fearless port, namely nirvana. If you let me go now to listen to the sermon, having attended to the Dharma-preacher, I will come back for your sacrifice and maintain the truth of my speech. Having promised I would listen to the sermon and give him hospitality, if I did not do so now, I would be like one who puts a noose that was lying on the ground around my neck. If you have doubts about my return, lowering me from your shoulder and putting me down, I will swear an oath.'

"And having thus spoken, having been lowered from his shoulder, having sworn an oath on the sword and the spear [of his rule], when you made a vow that truthful kings should not have to make, agreeing to the words spoken by Pōrisāda, who said, 'Having gone, please do not stay there. The deity will not accept the sacrifice without you. Come back immediately tomorrow without hindering [my sacrifice],' you took your leave and went. Then washing the head of the brahmin and bathing him, dressing him in clothes, feeding him food in a fine manner, and seating

him in the throne beneath a white parasol, while sitting at a low place yourself, honoring him with perfumes and flowers, listening to that sermon with reverence, you made an offering of four thousand gold coins to equal the measure of his merit. Then going back to Pōrisāda for the sake of maintaining the truth, seeing him build up the flames of the fire in a place not far from the banyan tree and his sharpening of the spit to roast the flesh until it falls off into the embers, you preached a sermon to dissuade him from eating human flesh. Then releasing the one hundred kings who were seated and tied to the banyan tree [for the sacrifice], sending these kings, including Pōrisāda, to their respective countries, you, who adorned them with crowns, offered your life for me, whom they call 'Truth.' Now would I not do an act of service for the sake of truth for you, who is like that?" And one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Truth warrior ran, broke up and scattered away from the World-realm Mountain.

Seeing the assembly of three battalions who remained ready [for battle], and saying, "Why, look! Another troop has broken up. Aren't we three troops enough for the three worlds?" he then recalled the Perfection of Resolution [*adhiṣṭhāna*].

"Lord, when you were Prince Tēmiya,[18] while lying down [as a child], being ornamented under the white parasol [as a future king], you reflected with the knowledge from remembering former births, 'Formerly, having ruled this city for twenty years, and having cooked in hell for eighty thousand years, I have been born again in this same prison. How might I save myself from the prison [of kingship]?' And being addressed by a goddess, 'Prince Tēmiya, if you wish to be saved, pretend to be mute, pretend to be deaf, and pretend to be crippled,' and when this was spoken, you said, 'The divine mother has spoken for my benefit. I will act in that very way.' Then making a resolution in the three aspects,[19] you did not make a sound. You did not hear words. You did not stretch out your hands and feet. The wet-nurse who became aware of that situation told the king. And when the order was made by the father-king, 'If that is so, examine him thoroughly,' those who were examining you returned and said, 'The edge of his jaw is not like that of those who are mute. The hole in his ears is not like that of those who are deaf. So it must be something he is doing deliberately. We will test him.' And they did not give you milk for a while. Although they did that, thinking, 'If I were to cry out for this milk, how indeed would I be able to feed twenty-four incalculables of children

the milk of the Dharma, which is particularly pleasing? I will endure this,' you did not cry. Then the wet nurse and the mother fed you milk. While testing you in this such manner, testing you [by witholding] big and small fruits and items for eating and drinking, thinking to yourself, 'Prince Tēmiya! Having been born as a *preta*,[20] the amount of time in which I did not even hear the names of foods and drinks was immeasurable. Now, too, do not think about food and drink,' and having admonished your mind, because you did not cry, they could not expose you.

"Again, saying, 'We will test him with fire,' and thatching a house having many doors with palm leaves, they placed the Dear Lord in the middle of the house surrounded by [other] young children. When the fire had been lighted in the house, although the young children who saw the fire cried and fled in every direction, you thought, 'When a column of fire has emerged from the great Avīci hell, burning several leagues of water inside the great ocean, and when the water roars and falls from the sky, it is said to be low tide. Then, when water becomes divided in two while flowing, it is said to be high tide. This has become well known in the world of beings. When one thinks of that fire,[21] which would burst the eyes of those who stand four hundred *gavu*s away like puffed rice, this fire is like cool sandalwood.' And seeing you remain seated without trembling, as if seeing an omen for when you cool the mass of fire created by Vaśavarti Māra, the wet-nurses removed you [from the burning house].

"Again, saying, 'There are no young children who do not fear serpents,' and seating you in one place surrounded by young children, removing the fangs of the serpents and putting gags over their mouths, they sent them toward you. When the young children saw the serpents, crying and falling down they ran off in every direction. The serpents came and wrapped your entire body with rows of coils, putting their hoods over your head. While you remained there, [the wet-nurses] having seen you seated without trembling, as if seeing an omen for when you sit within the coils of the *nāga* king Mucaliňdu, removed the serpents.

"Just like this, having made sixteen great examinations along with various small examinations in between, and not being able to expose you, when you became sixteen years old, the trees that produce flower and fruits were at that time yielding flowers and fruits, and there was the rising of the morning sun, as is the nature of the world.[22] When coming to this age, it is natural for thoughts to arise regarding the five sense pleasures.[23] Having made the harem women approach, saying, 'If any woman captures his

mind, she will become the chief queen among them,' and hearing the words that were spoken by the father-king, the women—who were outfitted in various ways, who were skilled in dancing, singing, and playing instruments, with fine tresses of black hair like the *tamalu* creeper, with teeth that were even and like a white water lily, with a neck like the neck of a golden water pot, with soles and palms that were very red like the petals of the red lotus, with pearl necklaces that were worn as if putting to shame the stream of water into which fell golden swans looking at the face of a lotus,[24] with a thin waist that may be grasped with a clenched hand, with three lines that were a support for the grove of creepers, namely the line of hair [above the navel], with a deep navel like a pedicle of white lotus flowers, with hips adorned with girdles of gold and jewels and were widened, so to speak, by the desire of men, and with two golden thighs that resembled the trunk of an elephant,[25] with calves like *dunuḳē* buds, with feet adorned with anklets, ankle bracelets, and toe-rings that make noise at each footstep, and having various beautiful forms that could not be fully described, and having a fresh young age and great splendor, trying to entice you in various ways—came close to the bed on which the Dear Lord, having held your breath, stiffened your body as if it was a corpse. "Then those women said, 'This prince, who is unable to enjoy physical contact, has a rigid nature in every way. Truly, this one is not a sensitive person.' Hearing that, the father-king said, 'Let him be lame and crippled! Let him be mute and deaf! At this point I know just what to do. I will be freed from the contempt expressed by other kings who say, "Look at the kind of son obtained by the chief king of Daṁbadiva." Carry him in a funeral carriage, dig a pit in a burial site, strike his head with the head of a hoe, cover him with earth and return.'

"The queen heard those words, went up to the king, and said, 'You have given me a boon [*varayaḳ*], haven't you? I should like to receive it now. Please give the kingdom to my dear son.' And although he said to the queen, 'Your son has become lame, crippled, mute, and deaf. How can I give him the kingdom?' she said, 'If you will not give it to him until the end of his life, please give it to him for seven years.' And having gradually lowered [her request], receiving it for seven days, having had the city decorated as if putting Śakra's Sudarśana Highway to shame, and adorning the Dear Lord like a divine prince, seating him on the back of an elephant, she had it announced by the drum in the city that 'This is

King Tēmiya's sphere of command.' Then having him circumambulate the city in a large procession, taking him along to the palace, saying, 'Dear Son! I know how you became mute without really being mute, the way you became crippled without really being crippled, and the way you became deaf without really being deaf. Don't make me helpless. Abandon the false appearance you have assumed and rule with the crown,' she pleaded with him for seven days in a row.

"On that day the father-king summoned the charioteer Sunanda and ordered, 'Dear boy, in the early morning tomorrow, yoke the funeral horses to the chariot, carry him out the west gate, dig a square pit in a burial site, put the prince in it, smash him on the head with the head of the hoe, killing him outright, put earth on top of him, wash your head and bathe, and then return.' That night the mother-queen wept and pleaded, 'Son! Prince Tēmiya! The king of Kasī has said to bury you in a cemetery. Will you save yourself from death tomorrow? Son!' Having heard those words, the five kinds of joy arose in the Dear Lord,[26] who was thinking, 'Prince Tēmiya, the suffering you have endured for sixteen years will come to a head.' Then thinking, 'My mother feels sorrow to the point of bursting her heart. But it would be bad if my wish was not fulfilled,' you did not speak up.

"In the early morning, the charioteer Sunanda, harnessing the chariot and leaving it at the gateway, came to the royal bed chamber and said, 'Queen, please do not be angry with me. I have received the order from the king. Please move aside.' Then moving the queen, who had slept embracing her beloved son, to one side with the back of his hand, carrying the prince in his arms like a heap of flowers, he started to descend from the palace. The mother-queen, pounding her hands against her chest, crying with great sobs, fell on the floor of the palace terrace. Having seen your mother who fell, thinking, 'If her heart were to burst if I do not speak up, it would be a loss. Should I speak up? But if I were to speak up, the suffering I have endured for sixteen years would have gone for naught. If I do not speak up, it would be a help to my parents and to me [in the future],' you endured it. The charioteer placed the Dear Lord in the chariot and went out through the west gate. After having gone sixteen *gavu*s, deciding upon a fully blossomed thicket as the burial site, saying, 'This place will be good to bury him,' and moving the chariot away from the main road, taking a hoe, he began to dig a pit nearby.

"The Dear Lord thought, 'This is the time to make my effort. For sixteen years I have not moved my hands and feet. How about it? Will my hands and feet respond or will they not respond?' Then standing up to examine them, rubbing your right hand with your left hand, rubbing your your left hand with your right hand, and rubbing your two feet with your two hands, you thought about alighting from the chariot. Then seeing the earth rise up [to meet your step] like a blacksmith's bellows that is filled with air and strike the rear of the chariot, alighting from the chariot, looking side to side, walking a few steps, you thought, 'In this very condition I have the power to go four thousand *gavu*s in one day. If the charioteer Sunanda were to wrestle with me, would I have the power to seize him?' And in order to find out, lifting up the chariot along with the four horses like a swing on which children play, realizing, 'I have the power to seize him,' he thought, 'It would be good if I was decorated with the royal ornaments.' With that thought, the seat of Śakra, king of the gods, which has a color comparable to the color of the petal of the *baňduvada* flower, and is sixty leagues in length, fifty leagues in width, and fifteen leagues thick,[27] and becomes warm if one desires warmth, and becomes cold if one desires cold, became warm unexpectedly.

"Śakra, king of the gods, thought, 'What could this be?' And investigating, he thought, 'The wish of Prince Tēmiya has come to a head. It would be good if I adorned him with ornaments before he becomes a monk.' And thinking, 'What use are human ornaments for him?' he sent Viśvakarma with divine ornaments. Viśvakarma, having come, tying a turban with one thousand cloths, adorning him like Śakra, king of the gods, with various [divinely] created ornaments, departed. After he left, going to the spot where the charioteer was digging the pit, standing nearby, and while speaking with the charioteer in a voice that surpasses the thunder of a raincloud that is full of water, you asked, 'Charioteer! Why are you digging the pit hurriedly? I do not see any kind of yam that must be dug up. Nor do I see anything unusual that must be fully hidden in a pit. Friend! I am asking you. Tell me, what is this pit for?'

"The charioteer who heard that speech, without looking up while he was digging the pit, said, 'A son of the King of Kasī was born lame, crippled, mute, and deaf like someone who has no mind. Having received the order to bury him, having taken him by chariot, and having left him there, I am digging the pit.' 'Look here, Charioteer! I am not mute. I am

not lame or crippled. If there is any doubt, look at my thighs that are like the trunk of a golden banana tree! Look at my pair of arms that are like the trunk of Śakra's elephant Airāvaṇa! Hear my speech that is as sweet as the sound of the cuckoo! Although the king gave the order to bury a lame, crippled, mute, and deaf son, my father did not say to bury a son who is like a divine prince and is endowed with characteristics like me. You, who are doing what he has not said, are doing an unrighteous deed,' you replied. Hearing the words you said, stopping from digging the pit, raising his face to look, and seeing your figure that was foremost in terms of physical form, he thought, 'Could it be a deity or a person?' And not being able to decide, he asked, 'Lord, are you a *gāndharva* deity? Are you Śakra, king of the gods? Whose son are you?'

"Having heard those words, you said, 'I am not a *gāndharva* deity. I am not Śakra, king of the gods. If you brought a son of a certain king to bury, I am, that Prince Tēmiya. I am the son of the king of Kasī, of whom you are speaking. Picking a leaf from the tree under which you have slept is not an attribute of friendship. The king who gives food to you is like a tree that gives you shade to sleep. I am like a branch of that tree. You are like one who has slept in the shade of that tree. When picking a leaf from a tree under which one has slept, one becomes a traitor. How will you, who are considering an offence of this magnitude toward me, the son of the king who gives you food and protects you, not become a traitor?' Having heard your words, but not believing them, going up to the chariot, looking for but not seeing you, and having come back again, looking and recognizing you, breaking down and falling at your feet, venerating repeatedly, he said, 'Lord! May you prosper! I will take you to the kingdom again. What is the use of dwelling in the forest? Please rule with the crown. If you go back, I will receive magnificent gifts.'

"'Look here! Having ruled this city for twenty years, I was cooked in hell for eighty thousand years. I remember that suffering. I consider all royal prosperity as misery in hell. Therefore, I will become a recluse and not return to the city. Take the ornaments, chariot, and horse back with you, hand them over, and come back if you have the desire to become a recluse! Also, tell my parents that I bow down at their feet,' and thus having spoken, lowering yourself in the direction of your parents like a golden banner bent by the wind, prostrating and venerating them [at a distance], allowing the charioteer to leave, and accepting the requisites

given by gods in a leaf hut that had a length of about twelve *gavu*s and was created by Viśvakarma, you remained having developed the Five Higher Knowledges and Eight Meditative Attainments.

"At that time, ordaining the retinue who had come, including your parents who heard that news, you, who performed the acts of a Buddha [*buddha kṛtya*], did not do it for any other purpose. You acted so there would not be any deficiency in me, whom they call 'Resolution.' Would I not do an act of service now for you who are like that?" And a battalion, toward which the Perfection of Resolution ran, broke up and fled beyond the World-realm Mountain. Having seen the army of two battalions that remained ready [for battle] and saying, "Look! Troop after troop is breaking up. Remain firm," he recalled, "Where might my Perfection of Loving-Kindness [*maitrī*] be?"

Then saying, "Is it necessary to recall me in particular? When you, Sir, were born as the golden deer known as Nigrōdha the Deer King,[28] you were living in a park surrounded by a great herd of deer along with Devadatta [who was born as Śākhā, the other deer king]. Because the king of Baraṇäs, being addicted to deer hunting, did not allow his subjects to do their work, the inhabitants of the country, having gathered together and discussed it, surrounding the forest in which the Bodhisattva and the herd of deer stayed, approaching from the outside while leaving an opening toward the city, driving the herd of deer into the park, and while standing guard, going to the royal palace and saying to the king, 'Lord! From this point on, may you go to the park and shoot the deer. We have put many deer in the park,' they took their leave and went away. From that point on, either the king himself or the cook shot a deer a day. Having seen one or two being shot with one arrow, the Dear Lord, saying, 'What is the reason for everyone to suffer when [only] one has to die by necessity? I will establish a sequence of turns,' assigned a sequence of turns for one from the venerable one's side on one day and one from Śākhā the Deer King's side on the following day. The deer whose turn comes up will stand alone on one side. The cook, shooting the deer, will go without harming the other deer. Then the king himself said, 'No one is allowed to kill the two golden deer kings' and gave them the freedom from fear [*abhaya*].

"At that time, the turn that came for one from Śākhā the Deer King's side fell to a pregnant deer. That female deer, going along and seeing Śākhā the Deer King, venerated him and said, 'Lord! I am with child.

When I give birth to the child, the child will grow up and answer one turn. I will answer one turn. Please don't let both child and mother die on the same day. Until I deliver the child tomorrow or another day, please assign this turn to another at this time.' And hearing the words of Śākhā the Deer King who said, 'How can I assign your death to another? You go yourself,' she became terrified with fear. Then seeing Nigrōdha the Deer King who, although not being her leader, was freeing others from their suffering, was giving the comfort he experienced to others, and had a heart that was gentle and a mind of loving-kindness, and thinking, 'I will tell him of my plight,' she came up, venerating and prostrating herself, and informed you of her situation. And the Dear Lord, having heard that situation, said, 'Even I cannot give your death to another. Look! There is one thing. The king has given me the freedom from fear and has said, 'I will not kill you.' I will give you that freedom from fear. Having given birth to the child and having become free from suffering, may you remain living for the sake of my merit,' and having consoled her, you lay down putting your head on the chopping block.

"The beings in this world do not think of others besides themselves.[29] A woman with a young child who was traveling in a desert along with a caravan of carts lay down in a place along with a merchant who was sleeping until the sand cooled. While she slept, the merchant got up and went away. Because there was no one who woke her, she slept and woke up herself. And not being able to find the path that the five hundred carts had taken, since it was invisible like a courtyard leveled by a strong wind, spending the night walking in this and that direction, and when the sun rose, as her feet were being burned by the sand, lowering the basket that was on her head, she stood on top of it. Soon her feet were burning again through the basket. [Incidentally,] if one compared the attachment felt for a heap of the seven precious materials, which filled the entire three worlds, with the love that exists as a result of gaining the tender affection of children, it is like comparing the mustard seed with the Himālaya Mountains. Yet without considering, even for an instant, such love toward a child, thinking, 'If I am protected, I can protect the child,' and putting the child that she was carrying down on the ground, she stood crushing its chest. However, the heat, rising up from the sand, burned the child and also the mother.

"Thus, in contrast to the beings of the world who desire their own benefit and inflict pain on children, who were born out of love, my Dear Lord gives your own comfort to others and takes the suffering that others

experience upon yourself.[30] Therefore taking the death that was appointed for the female deer upon yourself, you lay down. You did not receive this much comfort even during the time when, as King Kusa,[31] you were sleeping, putting the soft hand of Queen Prabhāvatī like a pillow to your head. You did not receive this much comfort even during the time, when born as Vessantara,[32] you were sleeping with your face against the two breasts, which were like two golden cygnets drifting toward the red lotus flower of Madridēvī's face. Because you suffer from the suffering of others, and with your thought of loving-kindness, that is, 'I will release the female deer from death,' you thought that the chopping block on which you placed your head was indeed a comfort.

"The king, having heard that you lay down, came running and asked, 'Why, Noble One! Did I not bestow the freedom from fear to you earlier? What is the reason for lying down like this?' Having heard you say, 'I bestowed the freedom from fear to that female deer who is with child. I have taken her death upon myself,' he then answered, 'If that is the case, I will bestow the freedom from fear to the female deer and to you. Please get up.' 'When only the two of us are protected, what will the other deer do? Killing them is like killing me,' and having heard you speak these words, the king said, 'I will bestow the freedom from fear to them also.' In this manner, having procured the freedom from fear for all the four-footed animals, birds, and fish; and having accomplished the welfare of the world, rising up from the chopping block, establishing the king in the Five Precepts, releasing all creatures from suffering, having made a sacrifice of your life, you, who extended loving-kindness, did not do it for anything else. You did this so as not to show any deficiency in me, whom they call 'Loving-Kindness.' Will I not do an act of service for you, Sir, who was like that?"

And one battalion, toward which the Perfection of Loving-Kindness warrior ran, broke up and scattered away from the top of the World-realm Mountain. "Look! The [other] troop that was left has also broken up. When Māra's retinue has been broken up, would it be warfare if we remained motionless? Taking up the battle that was fought by these boys, we will vanquish the kingship of the Buddha for our king," and deafening the world-realm with the noise that was struck up instantaneously, making the earth and sky a single tumult from the sound of war drums that were beaten as if the sounds of the thunderbolts of the rain clouds in one hundred thousand crores of world-realms when the eon is destroyed

were collected in one world-realm, they struck each others' weapons to generate fire that was indistinguishable from the fire that destoys the eon. Seeing the retinue of the battalion that charged led by Māra, [the Bodhisattva] thought, "What may be the reason for the Perfection of Equanimity [*upekṣā*] to be delayed until these ones approach?"

At that time, [the Perfection of Equanimity] said, "Please do not think like that. One time when you went to the place where young children were playing and sat down, [the children] thought, 'This one has come to our place and sat down.' Then beating you with such things as fists, clubs, pebbles, and shards of pots, they cut and broke your entire body. Even when they made you bleed, they noticed how you endured it and said, 'Look! He is a virtuous and gentle person.' Then having rubbed and washed you, having applied perfumes, they decorated and adorned you with flowers.[33] When you were beaten and when you were decorated, you had only one thought. In births like this numbering one hundred crores, when they were applying sandalwood in one hand and shreading your flesh with a razor in the other hand, maintaining one mind toward the person applying sandalwood and toward the person shredding your flesh, being without ill-will and being impartial to both happiness and suffering, you appointed me, whom they call 'Equanimity,' as foremost to all the perfections. Would I not thoroughly break up that assembly for you who are like that?"

And the assembly, toward which the Perfection of Equanimity warrior ran, broke up and went, leaving Māra alone, and while looking back and saying, "Doesn't one become a Buddha to release all beings from suffering? Please do not kill us. We will venerate at your feet. We are your servants. Please understand that very Māra who, not knowing his own power, has come and brought all of us here. Please kill just him. Please put just him in prison. Please bond the hands and feet of just him. Please cut off the hands, feet, ears, and nose of just him," and having put their fingers in their mouth [out of fear], the assembly of the ten battalions scattered away off the World-realm Mountain.

At that time, noticing that the assembly had broken up, Māra thought, "Should I take an assembly and fight? Am I not enough for Prince Siddhārtha, who is alone?" Then sitting on the back of the majestic elephant Girimekhalā, who was six hundred *gavu*s in height and had one thousand frontal globes, creating for himself one thousand arms and various fiery, shining weapons, he filled the three worlds with his roar, "I am Vaśavarti

Māra!" And thinking, "I will kill this one with my power," showering a rain of fiery, shining weapons that had fine edges, and seeing them being made to fall as garlands of flowers; showering a rain of stones that had whirls of fire and roared down with a sound that deafened the ten directions, and seeing them being made to fall as flowers; creating a gale that lifted a mountain range into the air like a ball of cotton and pulverized it into dust, but could not disturb even a thread from the edge of his robes; creating a flood that flows four hundred *gavu*s in an instant, but could not raise even a measure of the dust at the foot of the Bodhi Tree; creating a thick darkness throughout the entire world, and seeing it become illumined as if one thousand suns and one thousand moons had risen; creating a rain of fiery, glowing sand, and seeing it fall away like sandalwood dust; pouring down a rain of ashes, and seeing it become like perfumed powder; pouring down a rain of hot mud, and seeing it become like scented paste; pouring down a rain of fiery, glowing embers, and seeing it fall as a heap of golden flowers; and with an enraged mind, launching the fiery, shining weapons that were held in his one thousand hands, and seeing them also drop as flowers; saying, "I will kill him with the elephant," he sent forth the majestic elephant that was deafening the interior of the world-realm with his trumpeting and had taken up shining, iron clubs in his trunk. At that time, my Dear Lord directed his loving-kindness, which is directed toward the entire world, toward the one elephant, as if pouring the water of the ocean into the shell of a mustard seed.[34]

At that time, Vaśavarti Māra, who rose up and remained [in the air], thought, "Now why should I keep on looking?" before concluding, "I will launch the discus weapon [*cakrāyudha*] that I have kept for self-defense." If one were to describe its power, if it were to strike the air, no rain would fall for twelve years. If it were to strike the great [Mount] Meru, it would cut it like a bamboo shoot. If it were to strike the ground, it would burn the trees and vegetation. And if it were to strike the ocean, it would dry up the water. And spinning the discus on the tip of his finger, while covering the three worlds with a mass of fire which rose out from its edge, he wound up and threw it. That discus rose up and remained as an umbrella of flowers over the head of the Dear Lord. Having seen that along with the victory banner that had fallen, he said, "Prince Siddhārtha! That seat is mine. Stand up!"

Having heard those words, he said, "Have a witness testify that it is yours." Māra heard those words, caused his army to testify like the

thunderous noise of the raincloud at the time of the destruction of an eon, and said, "Didn't you hear? Either have a witness testify that it belongs to you or give the seat to me." Having heard those words, he thought, "There is no other person fit to testify for me here. Why doesn't the earth goddess [*mahīkṣāntāva*] who thundered seven times for the alms I gave while in the existence of Viśvantara [Pāli: Vessantara] speak up now?" He put his golden, resplendent hand out from inside his robe down to the ground like a band of lightning that shot out from an evening cloud. At that time, the earth goddess, rising up [from the earth], taking a golden water pot with her right hand near the right knee of the Dear Lord, raising one hand, and announcing three times, "The seat belongs to Prince Siddhārtha. It does not belong to Vaśavarti Māra," then departed. At that time, the majestic elephant, having dropped Māra who was seated on his back, saluting and venerating [the Bodhisattva], went off. Then Vaśavarti Māra, having hung his head in shame, was defeated.

4

THE AWAKENING OF THE BUDDHA

At that time, the gods of the ten thousand world-realms, while filling the three worlds with a tumult, saying, "Vaśavarti Māra is defeated! The Buddha has won!" returned with offerings they had prepared and assembled. From among them, some deities took up a row of hourglass drums.[1] Some deities took up a row of chowries. Some deities took up a row of silver goads. Some deities took up a row of gold conches. Some deities took up a row of silver conches. Some deities took up a row of victory conches. Some deities took up a row of golden pots. Some deities took up a row of silver pots. Some deities took up a row of gold banners. Some deities took up a row of silver banners. Some deities took up a row of gold caskets. Some deities took up a row of of gold festoons. Some deities took up a row of silver festoons. Some deities took up a row of jeweled festoons. Some deities raised gold archways. Some deities raised silver archways. Some deities raised jeweled archways. Some deities took up a row of walking sticks made of precious materials. Some deities took up a row of mirrors made of precious materials. Some deities took up torches that had gem-studded handles. A row of *brahmā*s stood, having taken up white umbrellas that had a height of forty-eight *gavu*s and a circumference of twelve *gavu*s around the World-realm Mountain, which has a circumference of 3,610,350 leagues. A canopy of lotus flowers above the ten thousand world-realm mountains was formed.

Thus divinities such as the gods, *brahmā*s, *nāga*s, *suparṇa*s, *garuḍa*s, and *gāndharva*s of the ten thousand world-realms, taking numerous articles of worship that cannot be fully described, except by a Buddha,[2] and while they stood encircling him, my Dear Lord, having attained the Knowledge from the Remembrance of Former Existences [*pūrvenivāsānusmṛti-jñānaya*] in the first watch of the night; having attained the Higher Knowledge of the Divine Eye [*divyacakṣur-abhijñānaya*] in the middle watch of the night; and in the last watch of the night, having penetrated, entered, and investigated Dependent Co-origination [*pratītyasamutpādaya*] from the beginning to the end, from the end to the beginning, from the beginning again to the middle, and from the middle to the two extremities, like a rutting elephant the size of the great Meru stirring up the great ocean; and attaining the Path of the Stream-enterer, then attaining the Fruit of the Stream-enterer, attaining the Path of the Once-returner, then attaining the Fruit of the Once-returner, attaining the Path of the Non-returner, then attaining the Fruit of the Non-returner, attaining the Path of the *arahant*, and then attaining the Fruit of the *arahant*, being filled and overflowing with all the infinite and immeasurable virtues of a Buddha like a great ocean that is filled and overflows from 11,500 great rivers, spoke this verse:

I passed through many births in *saṃsāra*,
Seeking but not finding the housebuilder.
Birth again and again is suffering.
Housebuilder, you have now been seen.
You will not make an abode again.
All the rafters are broken off, the ridge pole is destroyed.
My mind has gone away from all material things,
And has attained the destruction of cravings.[3]

And having exclaimed this joyful utterance and so forth, looking at the Diamond Seat [*vajrāsanaya*] of fourteen cubits upon which he sat, saying, "Innumerable are the times that, having cut with the sword in my hand, I gave my own head adorned with a crown, excelling the Great Meru Mountain that is 168,000 leagues high, for the sake of this seat. Innumerable are the times when I plucked out and gave my eyes that shone with the five colors, excelling the stars in the sky. Innumerable are these many births in which, having split open my own chest, having given over my heart,

falling down, and moistening my eyes with joyful tears, I experienced a happy death. Having bound and given away to beggars a gem of a son like Prince Jāliya, a gem of a daughter like Kṛṣṇajinā, and a wife like Madridēvī, as if one had bound and brought one's enemies, and having made them slaves and given them to outcastes, I remained joyful," and thus if one were to narrate the number of births like this that I had, one could not count them until one passes away in *parinirvāṇa*.[4]

Therefore saying, "Having taken on this much suffering, I will not forsake the Seat [of Wisdom] that I have obtained," he sat for an entire week. While he was sitting and enjoying the bliss of nirvana, some gods thought, "Not having risen at all, the Dear Lord is sitting as if he still has a task to do." Then the Venerable One, having risen upward into the sky, indicating that all of his tasks were completed, thinking, "I will perform the Twin Great Miracle that, aside from a Buddha, cannot be done by any god or *brahmā*," and while emitting from all ninety-nine thousand pores throughout his entire body, from all his head hair, from both armpits, from both nostrils, from the openings in both ears, from both shoulder blades, from the nipples on both breasts, from the ten fingers on both resplendent hands, and from every single place, a jet of fire the size of the trunk of a young palmyra tree, and a jet of water from the places where the jets of fire fell, and a jet of fire from the places where the jets of water fell, and thus having displayed the Twin Great Miracle, he dispelled the doubt of the gods.

And saying, "Shaking the hundred-league *parasatu* tree of the gods and shaking the *paḷol* tree of the *asura*s, I am able to offer endless flowers to the Bodhi Tree, which did not abandon me when Vaśavarti Māra came charging while all the gods and *brahmā*s were fleeing. Having drained the body of water in the great ocean, scooping out the seven precious materials [therein], I am able to offer and spread them over the entire world. Having overturned the Great Meru of 168,000 leagues like a ball of cotton, taking the powder of the seven precious materials kept underneath, I am able to spread it from the foot of this tree up to the World-realm Mountain. But all these are not fitting offerings for me. I will make an offering with my eyes to this Bodhi Tree, which has given rise to the eye of omniscience for me," and without closing his two eyes for seven days, making an offering to the Bodhi Tree with the radiance of the five colors that shone forth from them, and walking for a week in a jeweled walkway created by Śakra in the sky between the place where he remained for seven days and the seat, and going from there, sitting in a jeweled chamber that was created by the gods

west of the Bodhi Tree, spending a week examining the Abhidharma Piṭaka in various ways, and rising from that place, going to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree, he sat down.

At that time, Vaśavarti Māra who was defeated and went, assuming the appearance of a madman, loosening the hair on his head and letting it fall down his back, sitting at the junction of three roads, placing both hands on his chin, and while drawing lines on the ground, thought, "Prince Siddhārtha has overcome my domain and will become a Buddha. When he becomes a Buddha, little gods and *brahmā*s along with people, listening to his teaching, filling the divine world, experiencing endless and immeasureable happiness, will realize the immortal great nirvana. When that happens, obstacles will fall before the four miserable states of existence under my command.[5] The pathway will disappear. Grass will rise up. Might I still overcome his domain?" Then, shaking like a tree that sways in the wind, drawing lines on the ground, he sat looking at the dirt road.

The three daughters of Māra, having the names of Craving, Aversion, and Lust, seeing Māra who appeared to have gone mad, said, "We will remove our father's disgrace." They went up to him and asked, "Father, who has caused you suffering like this?" [Māra] replied, "Why, my daughters! Don't you know when there are snakes slithering around your cheeks?[6] Prince Siddhārtha, having shown contempt for my five sense pleasures, caused my army to run in various directions. Having disgraced me, he was seated at the foot of the Bodhi Tree, increasing the strength of the little gods and *brahmā*s of the ten thousand world-realms, as if putting soot in my face. That is why I have lost my way."

Hearing his words, [the Māra daughters] said, "Please do not grieve. Does someone with three children like us feel such suffering? Please sit and watch. Aren't you thinking of binding Prince Siddhārtha with iron chains and putting him in prison? We will put him in the prison of our laps, bound with the chains of our soft hands. Didn't you take a strong cord, Sir, to put around his neck and pull him? Having put the shawl of flower garlands, which are around our necks, around his neck, we will drag him back. Didn't you, Sir, sharpen arrows in a bow to shoot him? We will shoot him with the arrows of our enticing glances from the bows of our eyebrows." And so boasting, they set off, making the minds of everyone who saw them desirous by their slow, graceful gait, producing desire among everyone who saw them by their pairs of full breasts,

causing the minds of everyone who looked to dance toward them by the sensuous glance that danced at the edge of their eyes. How were the three Māra-women, who prepared themselves and came to break the morality of the Buddha, adorned?[7]

That is to say, drawing the minds of everyone who looked at them with their tresses of hair bent by the weight of flowers; attracting the mind of amorous persons with their long, wide, water lily eyes, which extended to the edge of their ear; and causing the fortitude of everyone who looked [at them] to collapse by their glancing eyes with the pair of eyebrows, which were attractive like rainbows, at the very moment that the pitch-black rainclouds of hair shook and rose up, and while opening the door to love-play with every glance of their eyes; excelling the majesty of the new Bak moon,[8] which rests on an evening cloud, with the rays from the tips of their teeth that spread across their reddish lips; and putting a noose around the neck of those going to nirvana with the large pearl necklaces around their necks, pulling them toward their heels; and with the sound of the jeweled bracelets on their arms, as if calling out to amorous persons, "Let anyone who is meritorious feel us and satisfy your mind"; and obscuring this world and the next world for everyone who looked [at them] with their two large, round, smooth, full, uplifted breasts; with slender waists that are good to be held; with wide hips that had become enlarged by the wishes of men, and with pairs of round, smooth thighs that disgraced the trunk of the golden banana tree; and shining with the moonstone gems of their fingernails that drip the water of the beams of white rays when the moon disks of their faces rise, possessing the smiling rays of the new moon, the three Māra-women named Craving, Aversion, and Lust—like a blindfold on one's eyes, like a maddening medicine in one's mind; who are an enemy to steadfastness; who are an obstacle to nirvana; who are an aid to *saṃsāra*; who are a receptacle for worldly pleasure; who are a poison for displeasure [of sensual enjoyments]; who are a mine for attachment; who are a birth place for love-play; who are a fire pit for modesty; who are a festival hall for youth—came and stood, kneading with bashfulness, immersing in sweetness, mixing with tenderness, moistening with sentiment, making oily with affection.[9]

Then saying, "This one, who has assumed a form like this alone in the great forest, displays youthfulness and vigor. How very good it is that he has come before our eyes! Noble Lord! Having seen your beauty, it would be fitting for you to calm these trembling hearts. It would not be fitting for you to burn up your youth and your appearance by taking the path of

a recluse. It would not be fitting for you to put poison in the eyes of those who look, with the robe that has been draped over and covers a body like yours. It would be fitting for you to cast a sensuous glance in our direction, even for a moment, cooling down and calming our minds, which have followed our eyes toward you, and which are slaves to your beauty. Unless you were carved out of stone, unless you were shaped out of clay, unless you were made from straw, unless you were carved from wood, it is not fitting to observe our suffering without acknowledging it. In springtime like this, in a pavilion of fully bloomed creepers, there is no misfortune like a woman who does not have a playmate like you.

"Listen to the delightful sound of the majestic swan who is intoxicated, having drunk the nectar of lotuses, and cries out here and there! Listen to the gentle buzz of bees buzzing and descending into *sal* flowers! Listen to the happy voices of cuckoos singing in the fully bloomed mango tree! Look at the intoxicated peacocks who, opening their tail-umbrellas in the midst of pea hens, have taken to a dancing competition and cry *ḳekā!* Look at the young male deer who, intoxicated by the spring, pushing with the tips of their horns, choosing a female deer from the deer herd, go forth to the thicket! Look at the pavilion of creepers that have been made! Look at the pure white sand bank! Look at the great waterfall that is like a silver sheet falling from the mountain top! Enjoy the sweetness in the breeze that blows, descending upon a tender shoot at the end of a branch and pulling on the weight of the flower nectar! Smell the fragrance that descends, wafting from these kinds of flowers, such as the campaka, ironwood, jack, *paḷol*, *sihin genda*, jasmine, the two *idda*s, fragrant water lilies, *parasatu*, *ḳovilāra*, *dunuḳē*, *vāṭaḳē*, *ḳarāḳē*, *sēvandi*, white water lily, *maruvaka*, and *vidävana*! See how all these things are torturing us, since we have not received any gestures from you! Come, Noble One! Comfort your poor slave girls and embrace us in your broad chest," and not receiving even a word from the Buddha, who is my Dear Lord, and who was seated at the foot of the Ajapāla fig tree and not paying attention, they said, "Enticing people who have a mind like this is very difficult. We will assume various disguises." Then assuming various desireable [female] forms, they approached him individually and attempted to entice him.

Then two adult women, coming and looking at the Buddha, who was seated at the foot of the banyan tree, thought, "We will loosen his austerities and create an opportunity for the woman who comes later." Then the two, while talking to each other, said, "Do tell, friend, how has he

destroyed his graceful appearance endowed with excellent youthfulness?" "Why! Don't you know? It is like a flower garland placed in the hand of a monkey. It is like a lotus flower that is crushed under the foot of a rutting elephant. It is like water from the heavenly river that has entered the ocean.[10] It is like a shoot on a white sandalwood tree enveloped by a forest fire. This Noble One does not even think of himself. And he does not think of us. Not thinking of ourselves, we say, 'Let not this young, tender person perish' [from austerities]."

While talking, they spoke thus to the Lord, "You who are seated at the foot of this tree like a contented person, like a destroyer of men, why should we believe you? When you were King Kusa,[11] dripping sweat from your chest for the sake of winning back Queen Prabhāvati, drawing water, placing an axe on your shoulder, splitting wood with great effort, bringing pingo-loads of wood, covering your loins and dressing in clothes that were black with soot, sleeping on top of a plank, washing pans using a ball of straw, throwing the water outside, and stirring up your strength, pounding the rice so that no husks remained, removing the pebbles and paddy seeds, sifting the rice, putting the rice-water aside for the curry, maintaining the correct measure of water [for cooking], putting the firewood equally between the three hearthstones, and not overcooking the rice, not burning it, not destroying the flavor, not boiling it halfway, and cooking the rice in this manner without making lumps like myrobalan fruit, stirring with the handle, putting [the rice] in vessels and covering them, taking the grinding stone, picking and grinding the mint leaves,[12] taking spicy items including peppers, salt, cumin seed, and mustard, and putting the salt in equal measure with the sour items, preparing and seasoning it, mixing the dish, boiling the water dry in the earthen pot, and when the pot became hot, putting in the peppers, oil, salt, and curry leaves, stirring so as not to burn it, mixing it with the handle of the ladle, and having stirred and prepared it thus, having cooked the dish in this manner, putting it in the vessels, cooling yourself off, drying the perspiration on your body, placing the vessels in the pingo, putting the pingo on your shoulder, carrying it down to the main road, and not having received a word [from the queen] when you came and set up the food, sighing with an upturned face, and improving the flavor day after day—and one day for the sake of examining whether or not the queen had any affection for you, you dropped the pingo-load of pots and fell down.

"When you were lying down appearing to be dead, at that time, Prabhāvatī, who heard that noise, came, put her hand behind your neck and lifted it, thinking, 'Is he dead or alive?' And while she examined [you], placing her hand on your heart and putting her hand to your nose, and while placing her hand over her own heart, saying, 'While ruling ten thousand leagues over Daṁbadiva, he accepted this suffering for the sake of me—a female adversary,' she swayed back and forth like a gold creeper that shakes in the wind. Then when you filled the face of the queen, who was wiping her tears with the tips of her fingernails, with spittle like a row of dew drops that fell on a lotus; Prabhāvatī, thinking, 'It would be bad if he were to pull and squeeze my hand,' and dropping her hand that she had given to your neck, ran and entered her chamber leaving the door ajar. Having seen Prabhāvatī, who had reached the pinnacle of beauty, standing there, although you do not recall the suffering you felt on that day when you were stretching out your hands and feet, that is something we remember." But he did not let the words spoken by the two female deities even touch the outer part of his ear.

After they had gone, a group of old bawds, showing a small girl, said, "Lord, leaving aside this birth in which you have reached the pinnacle of compassion, when you were in the stages of the perfections, it seems that you released women from suffering. Having been born as the golden deer king, you took upon yourself the flame of the fire of death, which had come for the female deer. If you are thinking, 'I am established in the austerities,' having been born as King Vessantara, while dwelling on the Vaṅka Mountain, not having observed the austerities as soon as Madridēvī had become unconscious, sprinkling water on her face, you caressed her. And when you were King Pīyum,[13] carrying a woman on your shoulder, having split your shoulder, giving her blood to drink, you protected her from the fear of your younger brothers. Now, also make this young woman, who is afflicted by desire, experience her first sensual pleasure, immersing her in the lake, namely that body of yours. It is very noble to do what many people say, and since all of us have said it, please extinguish this girl's grief. Protecting those with whom you have come into contact is indeed a virtue of the Bodhisattva. And since we have come into contact with you, please protect us. Fulfilling the urgent requests and desires of children is certainly a virtue of those who have compassion. Please fulfill the urgent requests of this young girl"; but he did not let the words that were spoken even touch the outer part of his ear.

After they had left, a certain older woman, having come weeping before the Buddha, creating a sixteen-year-old girl, said, "Stupid girl! Prince Siddhārtha will not be affected by looking at your flower-bud breasts. Do not redden your pair of eyes that excel the petal of the blue water lily, weeping like a water fountain issuing forth from a red gem, blackening the tender shoot of your lower lip, which excels the gourd fruit, by sighing with an upturned face. For the sake of women such as Yaśōdharā, this Prince Siddhārtha, not having regarded the bow pulled by one thousand persons even as a cotton bow, has pulled and become fatigued.[14] When that is so, if one were to say to him, 'Having risen in the night and left behind that Queen Yaśōdharā, you came here,' then it is because men do not show affection to young women when they have children. When that is so, if one were to say, 'He does not give me even a little glance,' then it is since, when the hot season is overbearing, it is natural for the energy of Anaṅga to dissipate.[15] Although it is the hot season, he is not without affection. Look! Before long when the rainy season appears you will see the affection he has toward you"; but he did not consider the words that the Māra women spoke to be even like gibberish.

After the two of them left, another two persons, having come before him, said, "They say that the person who [now] does not even give a mere nod of his head out of pleasure, even for our darling and tender speech, has given offerings of his head that exceed Mount Meru! They say that the person who does not give even a slight touch has given offerings of the flesh of his body that exceed the earth! Are we to believe those offerings? They say that the person who is reluctant to give even a glance from the corner of his eye has given offerings of his eyes that exceed the stars in the sky! They say that the person who does not give even a few words with his own sweet voice has given offerings of blood that exceed the water of the ocean. Are we to believe those offerings? That is not his fault. Look! It is the lack of merit in us, who have committed immoral deeds. Nevertheless, continually desiring the person who is devoid of this sentiment of love, our shameless minds struggle. How do we admonish our minds that have no shame? Our struggling for this one is like feeding a grinding stone with the milk touched by gold."[16]

After the Māra women had left, having thus spoken, one woman, having taken the form of a familiar female attendant of Yaśōdharā, coming and venerating before him, and standing at one side, announced, "Lord, for what fault of Yaśōdharā did you abandon her? The suffering that

pitiful woman experiences from remembering you has no limit. Having seen Prince Rāhula not drinking milk, because when she remembers you the hair on her whole body stands on end, and the circle of hair on her nipple stabs his mouth, and because warm tears that pour from her long and wide eyes come to her nipple and burn his mouth, I do not know even now the condition of your darling Yaśōdharā, who grieves from your absence. Please do not destroy the best of women in *saṃsāra*. Please do not destroy the marvel among Brahmā's created forms.[17] Having destroyed the trust of one who is without deceit, please do not set fire to the household."

And the three Māra women who were speaking like this in order to break the morality of the Buddha, having created 1,800 forms for themselves, 600 apiece, with those various forms of young, adult, and older [women], who were appealing to the eye, who were mind-captivating, not dark, not light, not tall, not short, not large, and not skinny—and while boasting that "We will wipe the dirt off our father's face," and loosening and letting down their hair that was adorned throughout the three watches of the night, flicking their fingernails in their hair, which had been loosened and let down, raising their hands, leaning to the side, and while tying and decorating [their hair again], smiling from the corner of the mouth, looking on affectionately with their eyes, raising their eyebrows, making noise by snapping their fingers, while looking and puckering their lips, loosening the clothes in which they were dressed, then tying the clothes that had been made loose, and having exhibited various devices such as these—did not receive even a mere word from him.

Thereupon, what did my Dear Lord think of their flirtatious manners? He regarded them like the foolish play shown by a group of female monkeys who are wrinkled and grey, and who have become very old. Again, he regarded that not even as [much as] the appearance of a bunch of worms writhing in a pit of excrement. When they ran off without receiving even a mere glance from the Buddha, who remained far removed from lust, my Buddha, proceeding toward Mucalinda in the sixth week, sat in the coils of the *nāga* king Mucalinda during a great rain that poured continuously for seven days, as if sitting in a house built with silver bricks. Then setting out after that, sitting at the foot of the Kiripaḷu tree like a full moon that shines beneath a new black raincloud, and having spent seven weeks [in all], on the forty-ninth day of becoming a Buddha, using a teeth-cleaning stick from a *nā* creeper, which was brought by Śakra, accepting the rice cake with honey that was given by two merchants named

Tapassu and Bhalluka, and the four bowls that were made of stone and the color of green gram given by the four regent deities, making them into one [bowl] by means of his resolution [*adhiṣṭhāna*], and eating from that bowl, administering the Buddha Refuge and the Dhamma Refuge to those two persons, gave his Hair Relic so that they may continuously make offerings [to it].

And setting out on foot after that, sitting at the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree, he thought, "Although the Excellent Teaching that I have understood is subtle, and although the defilements of the inhabitants of the world are dense, and although they are very ignorant, if I preach the Excellent Teaching, which is subtle like this, and if their minds do not comprehend it, it will be exhausting for me." And when he became reluctant to preach the Excellent Teaching, the Great Brahmā Sahaṁpati, who ascertained that fact, coming with a crowd of gods and *brahmā*s from among the ten thousand world-realms, prostrating and venerating at his resplendent feet, invited him by saying, "Lord! Please deliver the sermon. Mine is the wheel of command, yours is the wheel of Dharma." And accepting this invitation, [the Buddha] thought, "To whom should I preach the sermon first?" And having ascertained that the two persons called Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmapūtra had died,[18] he thought, "Where now are the group of five [ascetics], who did much service to me?" And while looking, "They are residing at the Isipatana Monastery in Bārāṇasi," and going off toward them, thinking, "I will set forth the Wheel of Dharma," and traveling a path of eighteen leagues, he went along, having taken up the bowl and robe on the full-moon day in the month of Äsaḷa.

And while he was on the road [to Bārāṇasi], an Ājīvika named Upaka, seeing with happiness the form of the venerable one, said, "Reverend! You, being someone more gentle than the moon, being someone with more radiance than the sun, being someone deeper than the ocean, being someone steadier than the Great Meru, combining and displaying as much brilliance as there is in all jewels, all flowers, all stars, all lightning, all rainbows, all evening clouds, and all autumn clouds, when compared to the soles of your feet, even if—having collected the gold from the golden shoots that have risen up from the places where rose-apples have fallen from the Great Jambu Tree, mixing and grinding that—there was [made] a solid gold statue which was polished with leopard teeth, that form would bring forth displeasure to the eye of those who have looked at your form. You, who are

one hundred times, one thousand times, one hundred thousand times, ten billion times, an incalculable number [*prakṓṭi*] of times better that that, who are your teachers?"

When this was asked, my Dear Lord, saying, "Ājīvika! There is no rock taller than the Great Meru. There is no well deeper than the great ocean. There is no land larger than the great earth. There is no space more empty than the sky. There are no jackals that are more proud than a maned lion. There are no village pigs that rival musk elephants. There are no fireflies that rival the disk of the moon or the disk of the sun. Therefore, similarly, there is no one equal to me in this whole world. I completely chased away Māra. I completely destroyed all the defilements like a bunch of tiny ants under the foot of an elephant. I filled my mind until I had every virtue of a Buddha. I removed the things that ought to be removed. I acquired the things that ought to be acquired. Now I am going to Bārāṇasi to set forth the Wheel of Dharma at the invitation of the Great Brahmā Sahaṁpati," and having thus spoken, coming to the city of Baraṇäs on that very day, he went to the Isipatana Monastery.

The group of five monks who saw the Dear Lord coming from a distance, not knowing that the Dear Lord had become a Buddha, thinking, "The meritorious recluse Gautama, having made great efforts for six years without being able to obtain Buddhahood, comes toward us. We will not venerate him. We will not go forth to receive him. We will not rise up after seeing him. But because he is a person born to a royal family, we will give him a place to sit if he wishes to sit." When this was thought, my Dear Lord, having ascertained the thoughts of that group of five monks, reflected, "What else would I consider suitable to break the arrogance of these ones? Isn't it always with the power of loving-kindness that I break the dense arrogance of others?"

And when he showed those five persons more and more loving-kindness, which he shows to all beings, the five persons who were arrogant at first, being unable to remain sitting, rising and venerating him, going forth to receive him, taking his bowl and robe, washing his resplendent feet, seating him, and because they did not know the manner in which one speaks with a Buddha, they talked with the venerable one as if speaking with equals. Then the Buddha, thought, "I will reveal that I have become a Buddha," and saying, "Monks! Do not address Buddhas, who are the Teachers of the Three Worlds, in the manner of speaking with equals," he ascended to the Dharma Seat, which appeared at the place

where all the Buddhas set forth the Wheel of Dharma, like the disk of the sun that is equal to fifty leagues, rises over the rows of waves, and appears at the top of the Yugaňduru Mountain.

Causing [all] the great Merus of the ten thousand world-realms to dance, making the seven mountain peaks strike peak to peak, causing the World-realm Mountain that has a circumference of 3,610,350 leagues to turn like a spindle, making the waves of the ocean motionless and disappear like an animal hide on which a weight has been placed, covering the entire sky with lotuses that burst through rocks and rose up, with lotuses that burst through the earth and rose up, and with lotuses that burst through the trunks of trees and rose up, and while covering the entire world up to the Akaniṭā *brahmā* world with offerings, [namely,] with the canopy of lotuses that appeared, covering the sky and causing the pedicles to look to the ground, as if they turned their necks to look at the splendor of the Buddha; and with a flood of water the size of the trunk of a full-grown palmyra tree that rose up and burst through the great earth without there having first been rain; and with the "lotus shower" [*pokuru vässa*] that wets those who wish it to and does not wet those who do not wish it to; and with the moon disks of the ten thousand world-realms that were there in order; and with the sun disks of the ten thousand world-realms; and with the multitude of water pots with which goddesses numbering lakhs and crores came, placing them on their heads and venerating; and with the sixteen auspicious signs that were drawn by deities who entered the great ocean and scooped out pearls; and with *parasatu* flowers being sprinkled by the gods of the ten thousand world-realms; with *ḳaḍupul* flowers that were strewn by the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, who came to honor him, bringing along his eighty thousand *nāga* maidens; and with *paḷol* flowers that were thrown by the *asura*s of the ten thousand world-realms to honor him; and with gold archways that were raised by the gods of the ten thousand world-realms to honor him; and with silver archways, with jeweled archways, and with archways of dazzling cloth from the five groups of colors; with gold-festooned columns, with silver-festooned columns, and with jewel-festooned columns; and with rows of gold water pots, with rows of silver water pots, and with rows of jeweled water pots; with gold banners, with silver banners, with banners of gems, and with banners of the seven precious materials; and while deities measuring [in groups of] sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety remained, having crowded together throughout the entire world-realm—in the holes of rocks and trees in the earth, amid

branches, on top of leaves, and in any place where one could insert a point of a needle—having sat shining under the middle of a parasol that was raised by the ten thousand great *brahmā*s of the ten thousand world-realms, in the middle of whisk-fans that were being waved by gods, in the middle of gem-covered fans that had a circumference of three *gavu*s and were being waved, [further] at the time when the ten thousand *śakra*s of the ten thousand world-realms, having blown the conches that open to the right, putting the conches on their back, and raising their twenty thousand hands, saying, "Hey, listen to the sermon without making noise," completely cutting the clamor of the assembly, and right along with the saying of '*sādhu*,' which rose 240,000 leagues from the great earth up to the Akaniṭā *brahmā* world, [the Buddha] said,

> Monks, these two extremes should not be practiced by the recluse, that which is the indulgence in sense-pleasures with regard to the senses, which is low, vulgar, of ordinary folk, ignoble, and unprofitable; and that which is the indulgence in self-mortification while striving, which is painful, ignoble, and unprofitable. Monks, without undertaking both these extremes, the middle path, which is fully realized by the Tathāgata, producing insight, producing knowledge, leads to tranquillity, higher knowledge, full awakening, and nirvana,[19]

and so forth, and by means of the auspicious first sermon, fixed eighteen crores of *brahmā*s, headed by the five venerable ones named the Mahāthera Aññākoṇḍañña, the Mahāthera Mahānāma, the Mahāthera Bhaddiya, the Mahāthera Vappa, and the Mahāthera Assaji, in the immortal great nirvana.

5

THE ENSHRINING OF THE RELICS

From then on, having remained for forty-five years, preaching the eighty-four thousand sections of the Dharma, revealing the immortal great nirvana to innumerable beings, releasing them from the suffering in *saṃsāra*, and having completed all the acts of a Buddha, which were done by all [former] Buddhas, and while in the vicinity of the city of Kusinārā, he lay down without rising on a couch arranged between two fully blossomed *sal* trees, putting his head toward the *sal* tree in the northern direction and putting his feet toward the *sal* tree in the southern direction, and putting his back to the east and his face to the west, retaining full consciousness under the Visā asterism on a Tuesday on the full-moon day in the month of Vesak in a *sal* grove of the Malla kings that was called Upavartana, either because his kinsmen and friends follow and stop [there] or because turning to the east, [the trees] leaned toward the northern direction.

When he lay down, those two *sal* trees became fully decorated with flowers from top to bottom for the sake of honoring my Dear Lord. Those two *sal* trees were not the only ones. All the trees in that grove became decorated with flowers from top to bottom. It was not only that grove. All the fruit-producing trees in the ten thousand world-realms produced fruit. The flower-producing trees produced flowers. The trunk lotuses burst through the trunks and the creeper lotuses burst through the creepers. Lotuses with two layers [of petals] and seven layers [of petals]

burst through the earth, and there were no gaps in between. The entire great ocean was decorated with the five types of lotuses. The Himāla forest of three thousand leagues became very beautiful like a tightly tied bundle of peacock feathers, and like a lattice window that was made with flower garlands, and like a well-tied flower chaplet for the head, and like a filled casket of flowers. At the time when those two *sal* trees were grasped and shaken by terrestrial deities, they sprinkled the gold body of the Buddha with pollen. And divine *maňdārā* flowers were falling from the sky. Those bunches of flowers, having petals that were gold in color and were the size of a large leaf-umbrella, having about a *tiňba* of pollen, were falling. It was not only *maňdārā* flowers. The gods who were in Śakra's [heavenly] city and the *brahmā*s who were in the *brahmā* world, continuously filling gold caskets and silver caskets, dropped the other kinds of *parasatu* and *ḳobōlīla* flowers.

Thus the flowers that were dropped sprinkled the body of the Buddha with petals, with filaments, and with pollen without being scattered on the way down. Divine sandalwood powder was raining from the sky. There were not only gods. And it was not only sandalwood powder that was being offered by *nāga*s, humans, and *garuḍa*s. Again, what were [the other offerings]? The gods who stood on the rim of the World-realm Mountain were filling and dropping caskets of aloe [*ḳaluväl*], frankincense, camphor, and these sandalwoods such as red sandalwood, golden sandalwood, white sandalwood, and *gōsīya* sandalwood, and scented powder, gold orpiment, collyrium, gold powder, and silver powder. The scented powder in the gold caskets being dropped by the gods sprinkled only upon the body of the Buddha and was not scattered on the way down. The gods who remained in the sky beat divine drums. But it was not just those alone. *Vaṅgi vīṇā*s, *naḳula vīṇā*s, and *bhṛṅga vīṇā*s that were being played produced the sounds of strings. And the drums of the gods, *nāga*s, and *garuḍa*s of the ten thousand world-realms, with drums such as the Kandyan drum [*gäṭa bera*], *paṇā* drum, one-sided drum [*eḳäs bera*], tabor drum [*mihiňgu bera*], *maha* drum, *loho* drum, the *tappu*, *tappara*, *virandam*, *tantiri*, tom-tom drum [*tammäṭa*], *nīsāna*, *raṇaraṅga ghoṣā*, *ḍäkḳi*, hourglass drum [*uḍäkḳi*], *maddala*, *ḍavura*, and the *saḳsinnam*, having gathered in this single auspicious world-realm,[1] remaining in the sky, were struck.

In the *Dīgha Niḳāya*,[2] a deity named Varavāraṇa, having heard that "The Great Person, being born in the world of humans, will become a

Buddha," and thinking, "On the day that he takes conception in the womb of the mother, I will bring a flower garland," proceeded to thread a flower garland. When the gods said, "That Great Person has arisen in the womb of the mother. For whom do you thread the flower garland?" he said, "I have not finished threading the flower garland. I will bring it on the day he is brought forth from the womb of the mother." Again the gods, having gone up to him, said, "He has been brought forth from the mother's womb. For whom do you thread the flowers?" and having heard that, he replied, "If that is so, I will bring it on the day he makes the Great Renunciation." Having heard, "Today he has set off on the Great Renunciation," he said, "If that is so, I will bring it on the day he becomes a Buddha." Having heard, "Just today he has become a Buddha," he said, "I will bring it on the day he sets forth the Wheel of Dharma." Having heard, "Just today he set forth the Wheel of Dharma," he said, "If that is so, I will bring it on the day he performs the Twin Miracle." Having heard, "Just today he has performed the Twin Miracle," he said, "I will bring it on the day he descends from heaven." Having heard, "Just today he has descended from heaven," he said, "I will bring it on the day he relinquishes the life-aggregate to Māra."[3] Having heard, "Just today he has relinquished the life-aggregate to Māra," and having not yet finished threading the flower garland, he said, "I will bring it on the day that he passes away in *parinirvāṇa*." They said, "Just today the Buddha, lying in the lion's posture on his right side in the bed that was arranged in betweeen two *sal* trees, retaining full consciousness and awareness, passed away in *parinirvāṇa* at the time of the early morning. For whom do you thread this flower garland?"

Having heard the words of the gods, [the deity] said, "Just today they say he has taken conception in the womb of the mother! Just today they say he has been brought forth from the womb of the mother! Just today they say he has made the Great Renunciation! Just today they say he has become a Buddha! Just today they say he has set forth the Wheel of Dharma! Just today they say he has performed the Twin Miracle! Just today they say he has gone to the divine world to preach the Abhidhamma! Just today they say he has descended from the divine world! Just today they say he has relinquished his life-aggregate to Māra! Just today they say he has passed away in *parinirvāṇa*! It is not at all fitting—having come up to Divakuru [Pāli: Dīpaṅkara] Buddha out of compassion felt toward all beings, having rejected the nirvana that had come into his hand,

having entered *saṃsāra*, having given his head, eyes, flesh, and blood for four incalculable world-periods and one hundred thousand eons, having bound and given over his wife and children, having become a world-transcending Buddha—shouldn't he be living at least until he eats rice gruel on the second day?" And while saying that, weeping profusely and bringing the flower garland, standing on the rim of the World-realm Mountain because he did not obtain a space in the interior of the world-realm, he offered the flower garland.

At that time, the gods who assembled for the offering, having filled up the world-realm, joining hand in hand, embracing [each other] neck by neck, ran while reciting the virtues of the Buddha. The gods, while singing in honor of the Triple Gem, the Thirty-Two Marks of the Great Person, the solid, six-colored Buddha-rays, the Five Hundred and Fifty Birth Stories, and in honor of the Fourteen Buddha Knowledges,[4] and while reciting the Nine Virtues of a Buddha that begin with "Worthy," that is: "The Blessed One is the Worthy One, the Fully Awakened One, Endowed with Wisom and Good Conduct, the Well-farer, a Knower of the World, the Incomparable Charioteer for Taming People, the Teacher of the Gods and Humans, the Awakened One, and the Meritorious One," and so forth, were running from this and that intersection calling out "Friend! Friend!"

Thereupon, when great offerings such as these were continuing, my Dear Lord, who is the Bearer of the Ten Powers, delivering a sermon to the sixty thousand Malla kings during the first watch of the night, and preaching the Dharma to a monk named Subhadra during the middle watch of the night, established him in the Path and the Fruit [of Arahantship].[5] In the early morning, having admonished the monks on diligent living, and then at dawn causing the ten thousand world-realms, the great Mount Meru of 168,000 leagues, the Seven Mountain Peaks, the Himālaya Lake, and the entire earth to shake like a top that was made to dance, causing them to tremble greatly while emitting hundreds and thousands of sounds, the Mother of Ambrosia [*amāmāṇiyan vahansē*], who is my Lord, passed away in *parinirvāṇa* with no rebirth-substratum left.

The sixty thousand Malla kings who heard those words, swaying back and forth like a row of trees being shaken by the wind, beating their chests with their hands, and draping their head hair down their backs, taking fragrant flowers, scented powder, the sounds of the five kinds of drums, and five hundred silken cloths along with the harem women,

coming to the two *sal* trees, surrounding the Buddha, wept and lamented. And having been consoled by the restraining of the *arahant*s, wrapping the body of the Buddha once with excellent cotton that had been cleaned one hundred times, and having thus wrapped it one thousand times, giving great offerings and reverence with dancing that was pleasing to the eye, with singing that was sweet to the ear, with the music of drums that were beaten, and with many kinds of perfumes and flowers, they spent the first day showing respect, reflecting, venerating, and making offerings.

Then the Malla kings who lived in the city of Kusinārā had a thought: "Now it has become evening. Tomorrow we shall cremate the body of the Buddha, who is the Meritorious One." Then spending the second day also by making offerings in the same manner, and spending the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth days with great offerings, and on the seventh day, conducting [the body of the Buddha] through the middle of the city, where all the deities in the ten thousand world-realms showed reverence with offerings of perfumes, flowers, and lamps, and so on, and placing it in the hall for the crowning of the Malla kings, which was an honorable place, they began to make more offerings.

At that time, the city of Kusinārā was decorated with *parasatu* and *maňdārā* flowers up to the knee in these places, namely, in this and that intersection, in sewers that drained excrement, and on trash heaps. The Malla kings of Kusinārā, wrapping him one thousand times in this way, with five hundred layers of cotton and with five hundred layers of fine cloth, like a great [funeral] ceremony being held for a Universal Monarch, and conducting the body of that Meritorious Buddha into a gold vat that was filled with scented oil, covering that gold vat with a lid, conducted it to the top of the sandalwood funeral pyre, which was 120 cubits high.

At that time, our Mahāthera Mahasup [Pāli: Mahākassapa], having eaten in the city Pāvā, and while going to the city of Kusinārā, proceeded along the way. At that time, many deities who were born in the divine world, arousing serene joy in mind with respect to the Mahāthera Mahasup, not seeing the Mahāthera Mahasup in that assembly of worship, thought, "Where might our dear *thera* be?"[6] And while looking around, seeing him proceeding along the way, they made a resolution, thinking, "May the fire on this sandalwood funeral pyre not be kindled for these kings until after our Mahāthera Mahasup, who is our Dear Lord, comes and venerates the Buddha." At that time, four leading Malla kings, bathing

and washing their heads, dressing in clothes like divine cloth, saying, "Let us kindle the fire on the sandalwood funeral pyre of 120 cubits," and taking four golden palm-leaf fans that were decorated, and fanning them, were not able to kindle the fire. Again, when eight persons fanned it, it did not catch fire for them either. After that sixteen persons, and after that thirty-two persons, gathered together, took small torches in groups of two, fanned the gold palm-leaf fans, inserted torches, squeezed bellows, but were not able to kindle the fire.

Then the kings thought, "What could be the reason for the fire not to be kindled on the funeral pyre?" Then having gone up to the Mahāthera Anuruddha, who was foremost among those having the Divine Eye, they asked him. At that time, the Mahāthera Anuruddha said, "Lay Devotees! The deities have made a resolution saying, 'May the fire not be kindled until the Mahāthera Mahasup comes.' That venerable one is now coming along with five hundred persons to venerate the resplendent feet of that Buddha, who is the Bearer of the Ten Powers and who is confident with the Fourfold Confident Knowledge. Until the venerable one comes, the fire on this funeral pyre will not be kindled." At that time, many people including the kings who heard those words, said, "Perhaps that Great Being is dark. Perhaps he is fair. Perhaps he is short. Perhaps he is tall. What kind of powerful monk is he? When a person like that remains living, what loss is there to us when the Buddha, who is the Lion of the Śākyas, the Bearer of the Ten Powers, and the Lord of the World, passes away in *parinirvāṇa*?" Then while giving the *sādhukāra* and putting both hands on their head, they continued to venerate in the direction in which he was coming. Some persons, having held perfumes, flowers, and lamps, hurried toward the oncoming path. Some persons, while looking at the path on which he was coming, decorating it, remained looking without blinking their eyes.

Thereupon the Mahāthera Mahasup, having dressed and covered himself properly, being accompanied by five hundred venerable ones, said, "We will find the fragrant funeral pyre of the Buddha at the crown hall of those Malla kings." And having gone there, fixing his robe over one shoulder, putting both hands on his head, circumambulating the funeral pyre three times, and ascertaining, "The resplendent lotus-like feet of the Buddha are in this spot," and standing near the resplendent feet, entering into the fourth meditative trance, which forms the basis of the Higher Knowledges, and rising out from that meditative trance, made a resolution

saying, "May the two resplendent feet that shine with one thousand spokes and are endowed with the 108 auspicious marks of the Buddha, who is the Bearer of the Ten Powers, who has unobstructed knowledge, and who is confident in the Fourfold Confident Knowledge, penetrate the five hundred sheets of cotton, the five hundred fine cloths, the gold vat, and the sandalwood funeral pyre, and be established on my head." Along with that resolution, streching out his lotus-like hands toward the golden resplendent feet of the Buddha, which came forth in that manner, clutching the calves of the legs, he established them on top of his own head.

The many people who saw that wonder, immediately giving the *sādhukāra*, made offerings with perfumes, garlands, and so on, according to their wishes. The *thera* and five hundred monks who came along with him, having gone from various directions to the place where the Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, and the head *thera*s [*nāyaka terun vahansē*] for [monastic orders of] ten thousand, the head *thera*s for twenty thousand, the head *thera*s for thirty thousand, the head *thera*s for forty thousand, the head *thera*s for fifty thousand, the head *thera*s for sixty thousand, and the one hundred thousand *thera*s who were heads of the congregation [*gaṇanāyaka terun vahansē*], who were each accompanied by *arahant*s, namely, the heads for [orders of] a lakh, one hundred thousand crores, and a *koṭi*, venerated the resplendent feet of the Buddha at that time. The other worldly [*pṛthagjana*] monks, who were innumerable, the gods and *brahmā*s, the many people, the *nāga*s and *suparṇa*s, and the *garuḍa*s and *gāndharva*s, while giving the *sādhukāra* to the resplendent feet of my Dear Lord, venerated and made offerings.

When this veneration concluded, the two resplendent feet, having slipped out of the hands of the *mahāthera* without moving even a stick in the funeral pyre, returned to where they were before. He thought, "Let the resplendent feet of the Buddha come forth from the funeral pyre. Let them return into the funeral pyre. Let not a fiber of cotton that is wrapped over the resplendent body, a thread from the five hundred fine cloths, a drop of oil from the fragrant oil that filled the gold vat, a stick of wood in the sandalwood funeral pyre that has been piled up, or a splinter of wood be moved even a hair [out of place]." Everything was placed in just the way it was before. When those two resplendent feet of the Buddha returned inside the gold vat, as if both the sun and moon, having risen and dispelled the darkness, set behind the Astagiri Mountain, the worldly

monks—including the Mahāthera Ānanda, the sixty thousand Malla kings, and the many male and female lay devotees lamented with sorrow and cried out, "Today, whereupon the Dear Lord has passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, we are without refuge and helpless!" At that time, the *arahant*s spoke to those who were lamenting, "Conditioned *dharma*s are impermanent, subject to suffering, and without Self," and having thus proclaimed the Doctrine [*baṇa*], they comforted everyone.

Thereupon the fire was kindled instantly on all sides of the funeral pyre by the power of the deities. When the fire was kindled in this way, consuming the skin, tissue, flesh, and veins of the golden body of the Buddha, which was covered by the fire, not even a little ash remained. And there were no embers. Having burned thus, when it was extinguished, the relics that were like jasmine buds and a pile of polished pearls remained. The bodies of the Buddhas who lived for one hundred thousand years remained as one mass similar to a pile of gold. Because our Buddha did not remain [in the world] for much time, desiring the welfare of the world, and thinking, "My Dispensation has not been spread everywhere. Taking the relics measuring even a mustard seed from me when I have passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, making relic shrines in the places where people dwell, and enshrining the relics in caskets, the many beings who make offerings will enjoy the happiness of the divine world, the *brahmā* world, and the human world," he thus made a resolution for the dispersal of the relics. Which relics of my Dear Lord were not scattered?[7]

Seven relics, namely, the four Tooth Relics, the two Collar Bone Relics, and the Frontal Bone Relic, were not scattered. The remaining relics were scattered. Among all those relics, the small broken relics were equal in size to the mustard seed. The large broken relics were equal in size to broken rice. The very large broken relics were equal in size to half a pea. At that time, when the body of that Buddha was burned, streams of water about the size of a forearm, about the size of a lower leg, and about the size of the trunk of a palm tree, having rained down from the sky, extinguished the fire on that funeral pyre. It was not only the streams of water that fell from the sky. Streams of water issued forth from the trunk and branches of the *sal* trees that encircled the funeral pyre. Water drops that had fallen from the stream of water that was about the size of a plough-beam and that burst through the earth and shot upward, moving along like balls of crystal, were falling on the funeral pyre. The Malla

kings also extinguished the fire on that sandalwood funeral pyre with scented water that was brought in gold and silver pots and by stirring it with rakes that had ivory handles. At the time this funeral pyre, having caught on fire, was blazing and burning, the flames of the fire were rising in between the branches and in between the trunks and forks of the *sal* trees that stood encircling it. But there was not even a leaf or a branch from those trees that became withered or burned. At that time, many kinds of creatures such as small ants and poisonous spiders roamed happily right in the midst of the rising flames of the fire like they were playing, as if cooled in the cool, fragrant breeze.

The fire on that funeral pyre was extinguished not by the power of the deities but rather by the stream of water that fell from the sky, the stream of water that fell from the *sal* trees, and the stream of water that ran through the earth. Thus when the fire on the funeral pyre was extinguished, the Malla kings, annointing the assembly hall with the four kinds of naturally fragrant scents,[8] decorating that ground with the "five decorative flowers," namely, white mustard, broken rice, jasmine buds, arrow grass, and puffed rice, fixing a beautiful white canopy that was decorated with gold stars and silver stars, hanging garlands of perfumes, garlands of flowers, and garlands of jewels, enclosing it attractively with curtains on the two sides beginning from the assembly hall up to the ceremonial hall for adorning the crown, and attaching a "sky-canopy" on top of and between those two, suspending beautiful hanging garlands, fixing flags and banners composed of the five colors upon jeweled staffs, sprinkling water and settling the dirt on the ground, setting up banana trees along the road that had been swept, completely removing the black sand and sprinkling white sand, placing large and small filled pots, kindling torches, and having carried the gold vat with the relics on the back of the royal elephant that was decorated, taking it to the inner city while performing relic observances with great offerings that were being made, and placing the relics in a jeweled seat that was beautifully decorated in the assembly hall, raising the ivory-handled white parasol over them, stationing persons who held spears side by side, then arranging the elephants frontal globe to frontal globe and the horses neck to neck, then stationing the chariots touching chariot wheel to chariot wheel, then stationing the soldiers in the manner touching shoulder to shoulder, and after them, stationing the archers in a compact manner, bow-tip to bow-tip, thus set up protection by means of a mass of soldiers who were endowed

with armor, whose hands were filled with numerous kinds of weapons, and [endowed] with great courage like a herd of elephants having minds that were excited by a strong rut, and who were forceful with power and valor, and who were skilled in war, up to a distance of four *gavu*s on all sides so as not to show an opportunity for enemies.

Why did they set up protection like that? In the week before, having arranged things such as places for sitting and meals of rice gruel for the Great Sangha, including the Mahāthera Mahasup, the Malla kings who had come to make offerings did not receive an opportunity to worship the relics. The Malla kings who did not receive that chance reflected in this manner: "In the first week after the passing away of the Buddha, while making arrangements for the four requisites such as a dwelling place to sleep for the Great Sangha, who were coming to the cremation ground from various directions, we have not received the opportunity to make offerings to the relics. Now it would be dreadful if an enemy, who was aware of an opening among us, came and snatched away the relics while we were distracted by ritual veneration," and having thus thought, setting up protection all around up to four *gavu*s on all sides with the fourfold army, the sixty thousand kings began the ritual veneration.

Thereupon King Ajāsat [Pāli: Ajātasattu, Skt.: Ajātaśatru], who was the ruler for the Magadha country, heard that "The Buddha, who is the welfare for the world, passed away in *parinirvāṇa* while in the city of Kusinārā, where the Malla kings are." How did the king hear that? First, the ministers of King Ajāsat, having heard that the Buddha had passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, thought thus, "The Buddha, the Teacher of the Three Worlds, has passed away in *parinirvāṇa*. The Buddha who has passed away in *parinirvāṇa* may not be born again. Therefore even now among the unenlightened humans, there is no one who has as much pious confidence as our king. If our king heard it like this, his heart will split in two. Isn't it for a time like this that he has knowledgeable ministers like us? Shouldn't we protect our king?" And thus reflecting, having three gold vats brought, filling those three gold vats with four cool, sweet substances,[9] and going before the king, venerating him and standing on one side, they said, "Lord, we have something to say." When the king said, "Speak," they said, "We saw a dreadful dream last night. In order [for us] to tell that dream, Sir, it would be appropriate for you to put on a garment of fine cloth and lie in this vat, which has been filled with the four sweet substances, exposing only the tip of your nose."

Hearing the words of the ministers who were looking after his welfare, the king consented, "Very well, dear boys," and did just that. Then one minister, removing the ornaments that adorned him, untying the hair on his head, letting it down his back, facing the direction in which the Buddha had passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, putting both hands on his head [in reverence], informed the king: "Lord! There is no being who is free from death in this world. Because of that, our Buddha, who is our Dear Lord, who is superior to the gods, who is superior to *śakra*s, who is superior to *brahmā*s, who is superior to *māra*s, who is worthy of a shrine, who is a Lord of Dharma, who is the Flag of Dharma, and who is the Tathāgata, passed away in *parinirvāṇa* while in the city of Kusinārā," he said.

King Ajātaśatru who heard those words fainted and sank into the vat filled with the four sweet substances. Then when he had sunk up to the tip of his nose, boiling the four sweet substances that filled the vat with the air emitted from his nose, heat was emitted from the surface [of the liquid]. At that time, the ministers lifted the king up from the vat and laid him down in the second vat filled with the four sweet substances. Then the king who lay in the vat, regaining consciousness, asked, "Dear boys, what did you say?" "Lord, the Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa* while in the city of Kusinārā," they announced. And at that moment, fainting from grief, he heated the four sweet substances in that vat from the warm air emitted from his nose. Lifting him from that vat, they laid him down in the third vat. Then when the king regained consciousness and asked, "Dear boys, what are you saying?" the ministers, facing toward the direction of the Buddha, placing both hands on their heads, announced, "Lord! The Buddha who is the refuge for those without refuge, who is the helper to the helpless, who is the Ruler of the World, who is the Lion of the Śākyas, and who is the Bearer of the Ten Powers, passed away in *parinirvāṇa* while in the city of the Malla kings." At that time, he fell unconscious again.

Thereupon the ministers, lifting the king from that vat, washing him with scented water, and sprinkling cold water on his head, informed the king who had thus regained consciousness that the Buddha had passed away in *parinirvāṇa*. The king, who heard those words, rising up from the seat in which he sat, releasing the tresses of hair on his head, which was anointed with the scent from various kinds of perfumes such as musk-lime, camphor, aloe, the *takul* nut, and musk, and which was very black, smooth, and soft; and letting [his hair] down his wide back, which was like a golden plank; and while beating on his chest with his palms,

which were red, soft, and had a color like a red lotus, started to weep from the grief that split open his heart. The king, as if unable to bear this, saying, "How is this? Dear Lord," and weeping with great sobs in the manner of a madman, going down to the royal road being accompanied by his ministers and sixteen thousand female dancers, and setting off from the city, went to Jīvaka's mango grove.[10]

Looking at the place where the Buddha had sat while delivering a sermon, and rolling around in that place, beating his hands on his chest, and swaying back and forth, the king wept and cried out thus, "Fully Awakened Buddha! Having sat in this place while releasing a mass of six-colored Buddha rays, bringing joy to the faces that had no joy, and bringing more and more joy to faces that were already joyful; while making the entire world a tumult from the *sādhukāra*, and preaching the Dharma to me, Dear Lord, you comforted me by removing the arrow of grief from my heart. Sir, having heard your pleasing sermon, I went to your refuge because you removed such grief. But now, because considering that to be freed from suffering, going begging, carrying a gourd on your shoulder, and guarding true speech is more valuable than the prosperity of kingship received by falsehood, you, who fulfilled the perfections in *saṃsāra* for such a devotee [as me], having opened the lid of your lower lip on the gold casket of your mouth, which was daubbed with the fragrant perfume of the Perfection of Truth, why will you not give me the jewel of your reply, such as 'Great King!' and so forth?"

And while weeping and saying "Lord," [the king] again said, "Meritorious Buddha! I was thinking that you, Sir, were wandering in Jambudvīpa accompanied by the Great Sangha all these days. But today I heard a report that is improper and unfit, and which does not fall [pleasantly] in the ear of those who have pious confidence," and so forth. And while speaking those words, recalling the virtues of the Dear Lord with about sixty verses, the weeping king thought, "My weeping accomplishes no purpose. Although the Buddha, who is endowed with the Ten Physical Powers and the Ten Mental Powers, has passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, isn't it fitting that I too obtain a share of his relics?" Then he sent letters along with messengers to the sixty thousand Malla kings who were living in the city of Kusinārā. What message did he send?

"Meritorious kings! The Buddha was a king too. He was five years older than my father, King Bimsara [Pāli: Bimbisāra]. They were close friends beginning from childhood. Having come to my father's city on his

journey to become a Buddha, he ate and gave his assurance, 'When I become a Buddha, Great King, I will come to your city first.' Then, having become a Buddha, coming back and preaching the Dharma to 110,000 brahmin householders, including my father, he caused my father to become a Stream-enterer. Therefore, they were close. I am also a king just like the Buddha.[11] And I am also a closely related devotee who has gone for the refuge of the Buddha. Although the Buddha has passed away, I wish to obtain a share of his bodily remains. I am a fit recipient for them. Therefore, having obtained relics from the Buddha's body and having built relic shrines, I am fit to worship them. I am able. Send the relics to me," and having written letters saying that, he first sent messengers. Then the king thought, "If they do not send the relics [in response] to the letters I have sent, isn't it proper to acquire them by an expedient means?" and set off accompanied by his fourfold army like an army of Māra.

Having heard that they had set off, the Licchavi kings of the great city of Viśālā also set off in that [same] manner. Having heard that they had set off, the Śākya kings in the city of Kiṁbulvat also set off in that manner. Having heard that they had gone, the Buli kings in the city of Allakappa set off accompanied by their own army. Having heard that they had gone, the Koḷiya kings in Rāmagrāma, the brahmins of the brahmin village Veṭhadīpaka, and the Malla kings in the city of Pāvā set off. These said kings, having first sent messengers with letters to the city of Kusinārā, each taking their own fourfold army, set off behind the messengers. From among them, the Pāvā kings were residing three *gavu*s away from the city of Kusinārā, [which was] closer than the other kings. The Buddha, while proceeding along to pass away in *parinirvāṇa*, having come to the city of Pāvā, went to the city Kusinārā. The kings in the city of Pāvā had large retinues. Therefore, while making great preparations, they left after all the other kings. And all these kings of the seven countries, having surrounded the city of Kusinārā, saying, "Either give the relics to us or else make war," and not allowing anyone in the city of Kusinārā to go out, they set up encampments and remained [there]. And to the seven kings who sent word like that, the sixty thousand Malla kings of Kusinārā sent word like this. How so?

"The Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa* while in our city. We did not invite him, nor did we send a messenger to bring the Buddha back. The Buddha, who is the Lion of the Śākyas, who is a storehouse of compassion, who is an abode for loving-kindness and a lord of wisdom, and

who has virtues that are endless like the ocean, having come to our city, sending word to us that he had come, called upon us. Because of that, we are the rightful owners of the relics. And furthermore, kings, if a certain treasure such as pearls, gems, gold, and silver—which are not carried along when one goes to the next world at death—arises in the territory of your respective kingdoms, or if there is a treasure on a boat that has floated and arrived at a ford in the territory of your respective kingdoms, would you give a share to us? There is no greater gem in this world of gods and persons than the Buddha-Gem. Having obtained a great gem such as this, why would we give it to you, even for our own lives?" and so forth, they sent word increasing the dispute.

Again saying, "It is not only you who sat on the lap of mothers, grasped the breast filled with milk, and suckled it. But all of us too grasped the breast of mothers and drank milk. It is not only you who were born as males. All of us were born as males too. So be it. Although we did not go in search of a battle, nobody ignores a battle that has come to their door," and having challenged one another, sending letters to one another, they sent boastful words again. Thus they shouted out of pride at one another. If there was a battle between them, there would be a victory for the Malla kings in the city of Kusinārā, and there would not be a defeat. Why? Because, the infinite and limitless deities of the ten thousand world-realms who had gathered for the worship of the relics, being loyal to the Malla kings, remained on guard. Because of that, victory would have indeed gone to the Malla kings.

At that time, a brahmin teacher named Droṇa, hearing the quarrel between the two sides, thinking, "All of these kings are quarreling at the place where the Buddha, who is the Teacher of the Three Worlds, passed away in *parinirvāṇa*. Such a quarrel is not proper in a place where the Noble One, who is without lust, without hatred, without delusion, who is tranquil, who is disciplined, and who is the support for all beings, passed away in *parinirvāṇa*. Today they must be pacified by me," and standing on a tall hill, he uttered a cry called "Droṇa's Roar" in about five hundred *gantha*s.[12] At the time he was reciting the first *baṇavara* from the two *baṇavara*s, not one word was heard amid the noise of the crowd.[13] But after the end of the second *baṇavara*, every person, saying, "Ah! Good sirs, he speaks like our teacher," became quiet. There was no one who was not a pupil of that brahmin from the majority of those born in the houses of noble families in the entire land of Daṁbadiva.

Thereupon, having noticed that those kings were not speaking, that brahmin teacher Droṇa spoke thus, "Meritorious kings! May you all listen to my speech. Our Omniscient One extolled forbearance in many births—as the ascetic Kṣantivāda,[14] as Prince Dharmapāla,[15] and when he was born as the *nāga* king Sakpa.[16] It would not be proper if you fought with weapons here for the bodily relics of the Buddha, [who is] the ruby adorning the top of the crown, namely, the noble Perfection of Forbearance. Kings, being united with each other, dividing the relics into eight shares, taking the relics to your respective kingdoms, and building relic shrines, may you all make offerings. When that is so, many persons will arouse serene joy with regard to the Omniscient One, who has the Five Eyes."[17] The brahmin, having thus explained the many reasons [to make peace], convinced those kings. All those kings said to the brahmin, "Teacher, if that is so, divide the bodily relics of the Buddha into eight equal portions for all of us." And the brahmin, having consented and said, "I will do what everyone has said," divided the relics equally. How were they divided? It was in this way:

Droṇa brahmin removed the cover of the gold vat. At that moment, all the kings, coming up to the gold vat, seeing the relics that lay in the gold vat, wept and spoke thus, "Venerable Buddha! Previously we saw you, but now only the gold-colored relics are left. Sir, this is not suitable for you." And while speaking, they wept in a very pitiful manner. At that time, Droṇa brahmin, noticing the preoccupation of the kings who were weeping pitifully, taking the Right Tooth Relic of the Lord, hiding it in [the top-knot of] the hair on his head, then divided the remaining relics equally into eight portions. How much were all those relics? There were about sixteen *näḷi*s of relics as measured by the *näḷi* of Magadha.[18] The kings of each city received two *näḷi*s apiece. While the brahmin was dividing the relics, Śakra, the king of the gods, who is the ruler of the gods in the two divine worlds, thought, "Who took the Right Tooth Relic of the Fully Awakened Buddha, who dispels the doubt of all beings including gods and humans?" And directing his one thousand eyes of knowledge, while looking around, he ascertained, "It was pilfered by the brahmin who is dividing the relics," and while examining him, thinking, "Is this brahmin able to make offerings to the Right Tooth Relic or not?" and having realized that he is not able, thinking, "I will take the relic from him," and taking away the Right Tooth Relic that was kept in the hair on his head, placing it in a gold casket, putting it on top of his head, and carrying it

away to the divine world, he deposited it in the "Crest Gem Shrine" [*siḷumiṇi sāya*].

Having divided the relics, the brahmin, not seeing the Tooth Relic and not being able to ask who took the Right Tooth Relic that he kept on his head, because he pilfered the Right Tooth Relic and because he had not taken a portion from the portions of relics that he divided before, he thought, "If I ask for relics from the kings, they will say, 'Teacher, it was you who divided the relics. Didn't you know there were no relics for you? We won't give you any relics from our portions.' " And not being able to ask for the relics, he thought, "If the kings gave me the *näḷiya* that divided the relics,[19] taking that *näḷiya* and building a relic shrine, I would make offerings." Then he requested, "Meritorious Kings! Give me the *näḷiya* that divided the relics." All those kings gave that gold *näḷiya* to the brahmin. The kings of a city named Pipphali, having heard that the Buddha had passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, at first sending messengers with letters saying, "The Omniscient One was a king and we too are kings. We also deserve to receive relics from the body of the Buddha," then after having prepared themselves for battle, they set off and came. Those kings of the eight countries spoke thus to the kings who had come late. "Look, Kings! We have divided the relics of the Buddha among us. Therefore, we have no relic to give. If it is necessary, scoop up the embers from the cremation ground and go," they said. Because the kings who heard that speech were not able to fight that many kings themselves, they went and scooped up the embers in the cremation ground.

Thereupon King Ajātaśatru, thinking, "Making offerings to the relics along the road of one hundred *gavu*s from the city of Kusinārā to the city of Rajagahā [Pāli: Rājagaha], I will convey them to my city," and having had markets built on the two sides all along the length of the road of one hundred *gavu*s so that the people would not become displeased, carrying the relics to the golden vat, surrounding them with a cage of spears, assembling the people in the kingdom that measured two thousand *gavu*s and that belonged to him, conveyed the relics. Having departed from the city of Kusinārā, setting off while making offerings to the relics, and at whatever place they saw trees of colorful flowers, resting the relics at that place, surrounding them with weapons of many kinds such as spears, offering those flowers, and when the flowers of those trees were finished, the king and his retinue set off from those places. Again when the rear part of the chariot reached the place where the front part had been, keeping it

there, they made offerings for seven days. For how many days did King Ajāsat make offerings to the relics and conduct them to his city? They were conducted for seven months and seven days.

Having conveyed the relics with offerings such as these, while they were going, the *arahant*s, ascertaining that heretics lacking faith were distressed by the thought, "Beginning from where the ascetic Gautama passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, this king said coercively, 'Make offerings to the relics.' Therefore we have become oppressed. Not being able to do our many labors, we shall perish," concluded that ninety-six crores of persons will be reborn in hell. Having thought, "Many persons, having had their minds distressed, will be reborn in hell. Seeing Śakra, the king of the gods, we will employ an expedient means to take the relics away." The *arahant*s, having gone before Śakra, the king of the gods, explaining the situation, said, "Great King! Employ a means for carrying the relics away quickly."

Having heard that speech, Śakra, the king of the gods, saying, "Reverends! There is no king among the worldly beings who has as much pious confidence as King Ajāsat. Therefore that king will not do what I have said because of the power of his faith. Look! There is one way. I will do just that. I will present cruel *yakṣa*s that are equal to the terror of Māra. I will create this much sickness—such as insanity, phlegmatic colds, and aversion to food for people—brought about by *yakṣa*s. Then, Sirs, approaching the king, may you say, "Great King! The demons [*amanuṣyayō*] have been angered. Take the relics away to the city very quickly.' When that is so, the king will take the relics away quickly," and having thus spoke, sending the *arahant*s back, he presented both the terror of the *yakṣa*s and the terror of disease that he described. And the *arahant*s, having approached the king in exactly that manner, said, "Why, Great King! The demons have been angered. Take the relics away to the city quickly!" The king who heard those words said, "Reverends! Taking the relics away quickly does not please my mind. But nevertheless, it is proper for devotees like me to do what the Sons of the Omniscient One have said."[20] Then accepting their words with the utmost respect and saying, "I will take them away quickly," he took them away to his city within seven days. Thus having taken the relics that were conducted with great offerings, he built a relic shrine in the city of Rajagahā.

The other kings, also having taken them away and having made offerings each according to his own ability, conducting the relics to their

respective cities, built relic shrines and made offerings. The brahmin teacher Droṇa and the kings of the city of Pipphali built relic shrines in their respective cities and made offerings. In which cities were relic shrines made? One relic shrine was established in the city of Rajagahā. One relic shrine was established in the great city of Viśālā. One relic shrine was established in the city of Kiṁbulvat. One relic shrine was established in the city of Allakappa. One relic shrine was established in Rāmagrāma. One relic shrine was established in the city of Veṭhadīpaka. One relic shrine was established in the city of Pāvā, of the Malla kings. One relic shrine was established in the city of Kusinārā. Thus ten relic shrines, including the eight relic shrines that enshrined the bodily relics of of my Dear Lord, the relic shrine that enshrined the embers, and the *näḷiya* relic shrine that enshrined the *näḷiya* that divided the relics were established in Jambudvīpa. All the kings according to their ability venerated these ten relic shrines, which enshrined the relics of our Buddha. May all the worldlings including gods and humans, venerating and making offerings to those ten relic shrines always, enjoying prosperity in the divine world, attain nirvana.

Thus when the relic shrines were built establishing the relics in Daṁbadiva, the Mahāthera Mahasup, perceiving danger to the relics from heretics in the future, approached King Ajāsat and said, "Great King! It appears that heretics will harm the relics in the future. When there is a pious king like you, it is better to make a single deposit of relics in order to prevent that coming danger." The king who heard those words, having received the words he spoke with the utmost respect, said, "The work of enshrining the relics is certainly possible for this devotee. How will the relics be acquired?" At that time, the Mahāthera Mahasup said, "Great King, I will bring the relics from the various places. That is not a task for you, it is a task for us." And the king said, "Since you say that you will bring the relics of the Dear Lord, all the work of enshrining the relics is the task of [lay] devotees."

Thereupon the Mahāthera Mahasup, leaving only as many relics for the kings of this and that country needed to make offerings, taking away the other relics, gave them to the king. Thinking, "Because the relics at Rāmagrāma are protected by *nāga*s, there is no danger," and ascertaining that in the future those relics would be established in a relic shrine named Golden Garlands [*ruvanmäli*] in the Great Monastery [*mahāvihāra*] in Laṅkādvīpa, he did not bring those relics. Taking away the relics of the

other seven countries, placing the relics southeast of the city of Rajagahā, he resolved, "If there are any rocks in that place, may those rocks vanish. May the earth become pure. And may water not arise." King Ajāsat, having had the ground at that place dug up, having bricks made from the earth that was raised, had relic shrines built for the Eighty Great Disciples.

Apart from saying to those who asked, "What is the king doing here?" that "He is building relic shrines for the Eighty Great Disciples," they did not reveal that they were enshrining the relics to anyone. Having dug up that earth to a depth of eighty cubits, spreading a metal sheet underneath, having had a copper [relic] house constructed equal in size to the Thūpārāma Relic Shrine in Anurādhapura, having laid the relics down in seven caskets of red sandalwood, covering those seven caskets, having had seven relic shrines made, putting those relics in the seven relic shrines, again putting them in seven sandalwood caskets and covering them with seven red sandalwood caskets, again putting them in seven sandalwood caskets, and laying these such sandalwood caskets again in seven sandalwood relic shrines, again putting those relic shrines in seven ivory caskets, covering them, and placing them in seven relic shrines carved entirely out of the tusks of elephants, again putting them in seven caskets that were made out of the seven precious materials, covering them with seven relic shrines of the seven precious materials that were similarly made, again covering them with seven gold caskets,[21] and again putting those seven gold caskets in seven gold relic shrines, again covering those gold relic shrines with seven silver caskets, and covering those seven silver caskets with seven silver relic shrines, again covering them with seven caskets of gems, again covering them with seven relic shrines of gems, and putting those seven relic shrines of gems in seven caskets made of crystal, again covering the seven crystal caskets with seven crystal relic shrines, he covered all these said relic shrines and caskets with relic shrines. Furthermore, the crystal relic shrine on top was equal in size to the Thūpārāma Relic Shrine.[22]

Thereupon, having had a [relic] house made entirely out of jewels built over the top of the relic shrines, having a house made of the seven precious materials built over that, having built a house out of silver covering that house of the seven precious materials, he had a house built out of copper covering that silver house. Spreading dust made from the seven precious materials over that entire floor, spreading flowers that bloom on

water and flowers that bloom on land, he had [images of] the 550 Jātakas, the Eighty Great Disciples, the seven beings described thus as King Suddhodana, Queen Mahāmāya, the Bodhi Tree that arose on the day the Buddha was born, Queen Yaśodharā, the minister Kāludāyi, the minister Channa, and the majestic horse Kanthaka, and the Four Great Treasures made entirely out of the seven precious materials.[23] Again he had five hundred gold images made in the form of these gods such as Śakra, Brahmā, Pañcaśikha, Mātali, and Santuṣita. Likewise he had five hundred silver images made. Again he had five hundred gold pots and five hundred silver pots made and arranged. He raised five hundred gold flags and five hundred silver flags. In this same manner, having had five hundred gold lamps and five hundred silver lamps made, having filled them with scented oil, and having twisted wicks made out of fine cloth, he made offerings of lamps. At the end of the offerings that were made in this way, the Mahāthera Mahasup made a resolution, saying, "So that this offering that the king has made lasts for five thousand years, let these flowers that were offered not wither, let these perfumes that were rubbed on the ground remain without drying up—as if they had been rubbed today, and let these five hundred gold lamps and five hundred silver lamps not be extinguished." Thereupon he had letters inscribed with vermillion on a gold plate. What did they say?

"In the future, a prince named Piyadāsa, having raised the white parasol, will become the righteous King Aśoka. That king, taking these relics and building eighty-four thousand monasteries throughout Jambudvīpa, which is ten thousand leagues [in size], he will illumine both the world and the Dispensation," he thus had it inscribed. And King Ajātaśatru, offering the crown and the sixty-four ornaments in which he was adorned, locking [the relic chambers] beginning from the innermost house made of jewels in order, having closed the door on the house that was made of copper and covered everything, putting on the lock, tying the keyring for the key on the cord for pulling the latch, and having hung it, placing a large gem at the top of the threshold, he had letters inscribed on a gold plate saying, "In the future may needy kings take this gem and make offerings to the relics." Thereupon Śakra, the king of the gods, who is the ruler of the gods of the two divine worlds, summoning the deity Viśvakarma, said, "Dear boy! The enshrining of the relics has beeen done by King Ajātaśatru. Create a suitable defense for them." The deity Viśvakarma, who heard those words, came and prepared a device outfitted with figures of wild beasts, and

created a device in the relic chamber out of wooden forms that held shining swords of crystal and that whirled around with a speed equal to that of the wind. Then fixing the connection with only one pin, bulding and surrounding it with stone on all sides like a brick house, covering it on top with a stone slab, and making it level with the ground, he built a stone relic shrine on top of it. The act of enshrining the relics that was directed by King Ajātaśatru ought to be understood in this way.

The Account of the Enshrining of the Relics is finished.

6

THE STORY OF KING AŚOKA

Thus when this enshrining of the relics was finished, the Mahāthera Mahasup fulfilled his lifespan and passed away in *parinirvāṇa*. King Ajātaśatru also went in accordance with his karma.[1] And the people who were living at that time passed away. When much time had elapsed, a king named Piyadāsa was born, raised the white parasol [of sovereignty], and became the righteous King Aśoka, who later took those relics and established eighty-four thousand relic shrines. How were they established?

There were one hundred princes of King Bindusāra. From among those one hundred princes, Prince Aśoka killed all except for Prince Tissa, who was born from the same womb as himself.[2] While killing in this way, he ruled without adorning the crown for four years. And when four years passed, in the 218th year after the Buddha's passing away in *parinirvāṇa*, that Great King Aśoka became the supreme king of the entire Daṁbadīva of ten thousand leagues. And along with becoming king, he also became preeminent in terms of great royal majesty [*rājardhiya*]. What was his royal majesty like?

His command extended four *gavu*s beneath the earth. Likewise his command extended four *gavu*s up in the sky. Because of the king's past merit, the gods would bring eight pingo-loads carrying sixteen water pots from the Anotatta Lake. From the sixteen pots of water brought by those gods, that king would give eight pots of water to the monks each day out

of piety shown toward the Dispensation of the Omniscient One. He would give two pots of water to the sixty *thera*s who were the Bearers of the Tripiṭaka. He would take two pots of water solely for his own use. Likewise, each day the deities would bring and give teeth-cleaning roots from Himālaya called *nāgalatā*, which were endowed with a mild taste. Toothpicks from those teeth-cleaning roots were used each day by the king, his chief queen, the sixteen thousand harem women, and sixty thousand monks. Furthermore the gods would bring myrobalan fruits [*äṁbulu*], medicinal myrobalan fruit [*behet araḷu*], and sweet golden mangoes each day. Likewise, taking the under robe, outer robe, and golden cloth, which were endowed with the five colors from the Chaddanta Lake,[3] a face-washing cloth, and divine drink, they would give them [to him].

Each day *nāga*s from the *nāga* realm, taking perfumes to apply on the body of the king, and in addition, sheets of jasmine flowers that were not woven with thread for his robe, and very costly collyrium, would give them to the king. Each day parrots, bringing nine thousand *yāḷa*s of self-grown *śāli* rice that sprang up in the Chaddanta Lake every day, put them in the granary.[4] Rats removed the husks from the nine thousand *yāḷa*s of rice that were brought without leaving the husk and inner coating and, without breaking them, cleaned it for him like the stalk of the *idda* flower. Every single day they would take the fragrant *śāli* rice to the king for his consumption. Honeybees, coming from the forest, built honeycombs in the kitchen. Bears entered the workshops and pounded sledgehammers. Tigers squeezed the bellows. Deities performed the night duties [to watch over the work]. Cuckoos came and made offerings of their sweet voices to the king.

One day, that great King Dharmāśoka, who was endowed with such various kinds of royal majesty, being surrounded by his council of ministers, and speaking in connection with the virtues of the Buddha, spoke thus, "How is it, Good Ministers! Are there any persons here who are acquainted with the Buddha?" The ministers who heard that said, "O King! Now the limit of the human lifespan is 120 years. It has been 218 years since the Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*. Accordingly, two generations have passed by. Therefore there are no persons left who were acquainted with the Buddha." Then when they said, "Lord! Among the *nāga*s who dwell in the netherworld, the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa—on the very days that the four venerable ones who became Buddhas in this eon, namely Kakusaňda, Konāgama, Kāśyapa, and Gautama, having fully

extinguished the defilements and become world-transcending Buddhas, were leaving the Bodhi Seat—being accompanied by his eighty thousand *nāga* maidens, honored the four venerable ones with great offerings such as dancing and singing, and with festive games. He will also make offerings to the Omniscient One Maitreya, who will become a Buddha in the future," [the king] considered this and said, "If that is so, bring that *nāga* king Mahakeḷa so that my eyes may see the graceful form of the Buddha." On that same day, that king had a gold chain made and brought, and resolved, "By my power, may this bind the hands of the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa who has the lifespan of an eon and who has great pyschic powers," and threw the gold chain into the ocean. That gold chain entered the *nāga* realm named Māñjerika and bound the hands of the *nāga* king. The *nāga* king, who understood that situation, thinking, "The king wishes to see me," came taking along his *nāga* maidens.

At that time, the king seated the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa upon the Lion Throne,[5] which was beautifully decorated and had an ivory-handled white parasol raised above it, and made offerings with several hundreds of flowers that bloom in water and on land, and with gold and silver flowers. He instructed sixteen thousand harem women adorned with ornaments such as gold bracelets, ornamented girdles, anklets, toe-rings, netted stockings, earrings, *tāḍaṅga* ear-ornaments, gold rings, gold ankle bracelets, gold waist chains, golden cloth, pearl necklaces, pearly cloth, ear hoops, *pamutiliṅgam* ornaments, and hair garlands to stand around [the *nāga* king] and said, "Show all of us the form of the noble Fully Awakened Buddha, the Teacher of the Three Worlds, who is the Universal Monarch of the Excellent Teaching, who is the Tathāgata, and who, if one were to gather together the knowledge of the gods and humans in endless and immeasurable world-realms and compare it with his knowledge, it would be diminutive like a very small pebble next to the Great Meru Mountain, which has a height of 168,000 leagues."

That *nāga* king displayed a mass of six-colored Buddha rays that emanated, shining from the resplendent body of the Buddha, who shines with the Thirty-two Marks of a Great Person and with the Eighty Secondary Characteristics that arose from the power of his merit, and that spread across the body of the Buddha he thus created for King Dharmāśoka. How was that? A heap of blue-colored rays, having shot upward 164,000 leagues to the top of the World-realm Mountain, emanated in all directions as if covering the entire world with clusters of *ka*sa flowers,

decorating it with *diyaberaliya* flowers, decorating it with the plumage of peacocks, and spreading out blue sapphire gems. An expanse of golden rays emanated as if sprinkling the petals of the *kiṇihiri* flower over the whole world, covering it with fully blossomed *sapu* petals, and covering the entire world with gold sprouts that rise up from the foot of the great Daṁba tree enjoyed by the gods. [Those rays] painted the great earth like a lump of gold, making the great ocean gold as if liquid gold had melted, struck the World-realm Mountain, then spilling over and falling down from the tops of one hundred thousand lakhs of mountains, emanated into the next world-realm.

A great heap of red rays, like a bunch of *baṅduvada* flowers, like the evening cloud, which put to shame red orpiment paste and the color of the ruby gem, rose up, covering the entire sky, and remained like a red canopy set up as an offering to the Buddha. A heap of white Buddha-rays, emanating like the evening star, like one hundred thousand streams of silver rays, like one hundred thousand autumn clouds, twisting and producing a whirlpool of light, making the Lokāntarika hell, which is dark throughout the days of an eon, a single light like a tree of lamps [*pahan rukak*] on which a lakh of lamps were lit, began to emanate. A heap of scarlet-colored [*maṅdaṭa-van*] rays began to diffuse, making the Great Meru red like a *ratiṅdugovva* worm, instantly making the Seven Mountain Ranges red like a bracelet of *maṅdaṭa* seeds offered to the Buddha, spreading the virtues of the Buddha and overwhelming the ten directions, filling the height of the entire world. A heap of the radiant mixture of rays [*pabasara*] began to diffuse, like a mixture obtained by combining the many colors of all that exists in the entire world, measuring [the size of] the trunk of a palmyra tree, measuring [the size of] gabled houses, covering the entire city like a ball of the seven precious materials picked up and blown through a bamboo horn.

Thus while that *nāga* king was displaying the beams of the wondrous mass of six-colored Buddha rays of my Dear Lord, King Dharmāśoka and all the inhabitants of the city chanted the *sādhukāra*. They also began to snap their fingers and twirl cloths above their heads. Likewise all beings such as *śakra*s, *brahmā*s and gods, *nāga*s and *suparṇa*s, *yakṣa*s and *rakṣasa*s, clapping their hands, made offerings with the tumult of the endless *sādhukāra*. The form of the Buddha he created was like a collyrium balm for everyone's eyes. Thereupon King Dharmāśoka made an

offering called the "Eye-offering" for seven days.[6] Then the great King Dharmāśoka, having cuckoos brought, listening to their sweet voices that were like the voice of the Buddha, made an offering to that too.

Thus King Dharmāśoka received his royal consecration and gave alms to heretics for three years. In the fourth year he aroused serene joy toward the Dispensation of the Buddha. King Bindusāra, who was the father of this king, was devoted to Brahmā and gave alms continually to sixty thousand brahmins who held heretical views. While inside the palace, King Dharmāśoka offered alms that were given [likewise] by his father. One day the king opened the "lion window" [in his palace] and looked outside.[7] Seeing the sixty thousand mendicants coming to the royal palace for food, lacking tranquillity, engaged in immoral behavior, with unrestrained sense-faculties such as sight, and so on, and with undisciplined demeanors, he thought, "It is fitting to give my alms to a proper recipient." Then he spoke to his ministers, "Dear boys! Bring recluses and brahmins who attract your devotion to eat in the inner palace." Everyone who heard his words said, "Very well, Lord." Then bringing this and that ash-smeared ascetic, mendicant, Ājīvaka, and Jain, and so forth, they announced to the king, "All these ones are *arahant*s who will deliver us."

The king, who heard those words, had high and low seats arranged in the inner palace, and sent word of that news. He said to the mendicants and Jains who heard that message and came, "Sit in the seats that are appropriate for you." Some heard those words and sat on the king's throne. Some sat in the peacock-shaped seats. Having spent that day giving hard and soft food to those who sat in that manner, he had the seats arranged high and low in the same manner the following day. Having invited the heretics to come again, he said, "Sit in the seats that are appropriate for you." On that day the heretics who were seated in the high seats on the first day sat in the low seats on the following day without any distinction between young and old. Those who were sitting in the low seats the day before sat in the high seats on the day after. The king, who noticed that their manners of eating, sitting, and standing were erratic, then realized, "There is no trace of virtue in the minds of mendicants like this." And on that day he offered the appropriate food and drink and sent them back to their respective places.

When many days had passed, the king, upon opening the lion window one day and looking out at the road, saw the novice Nigrōdha, who

dressed well and covered himself, endowed with full consciousness and awareness, with a tranquil mind, with restrained sense-faculties, and endowed with a composed demeanor, walking through the royal courtyard. How did he see that novice Nigrōdha?

This very novice Nigrōdha was the son of the prince named Sumana, who was the eldest of King Bindusāra's one hundred sons. When that King Bindusāra became feeble, this Prince Aśoka, rejecting the Udēni country that was allotted to him, killed every one of the princes who were born to his father, and took possession of the kingdom himself. On the day when Prince Sumana was killed, his queen Sumanā, who was with child, departed from the city in disguise and heard the words, "Sumanā, come here," spoken by a deity dwelling in a banyan tree close to the house of a *caṇḍāla* who had seen her going by an outcaste village close to the city.[8] Having gone to the foot of the banyan tree, seeing a dwelling that had been created for her by the deity, who felt compassion for her, she entered it and gave birth to a son right then. Because she gave birth in the dwelling made by the deity of the banyan tree, that queen named her son Prince Nigrōdha. The elder *caṇḍāla* of that village, thinking of her as his noble lady [*svāmi diyaṇī*] from the day he first saw the princess, provided for her livelihood. That princess lived at the foot of the banyan tree for seven years. Prince Nigrōdha became seven years old.

At that time, a *thera* named Mahāvaruṇa, perceiving the child's potential to become an *arahant*, saying to the queen, "The prince is now seven years old. It is time to ordain him," ordained Prince Nigrōdha. At the very time he was ordained, he became an *arahant*. One day the novice who had become an *arahant* attended to his bodily needs early in the morning, performed the obligatory customs and observances for his teacher and preceptor,[9] and taking up the bowl and the robe, and thinking, "I will go to the village where Mother lives," set off from the monastery. His mother was living at a place in the east. Therefore having come to the inner city through the southern gate, going through the middle of the city, he went out from the eastern gate.

At that time, King Dharmāśoka opened the lion window in the eastern direction and looked out. The king saw that novice Nigrōdha proceeding through the royal courtyard and thought, "All these people have minds that are scattered. They are like frightened deer. This young child is not like that. He does not look too far in front of him or on the two sides. He does not bend or stretch his arms and legs [erratically]. He does not look

more than about four cubits ahead of him. He is endowed with manifest virtue. He is appealing to everyone who sees him. Certainly this child must have attained to some transcendent state." Then that king aroused serene joy in his mind toward the novice when he saw him. What was the reason for such affection to arise in the very instant he saw him? In the past when they were doing merit, he was King Dharmāśoka's elder brother [in a previous birth]. One should understand it because of that. The king with thoughts of esteem from the affection he felt, said, "Invite the novice here" and dispatched a minister. Again he said, "Invite him here without delay" and dispatched a [second] minister. In this way he sent two or three persons ahead to meet him. Those ministers who had gone venerated and invited him, saying, "Reverend! The king wishes to see you. Please come straight away." And when they invited him, the novice came with a natural stride because, being an *arahant*, he had destroyed the immoral defilements such as lust. All the people on both sides of the main road, putting their hands on their head [in reverence], chanted the *sādhukāra* and spoke thus. How so?

"This is a very young child. He still has the smell of milk on his mouth. He does not look ahead even four cubits. He does not raise his voice loudly. He has a stride that is soft and tranquil when he walks, placing one foot after the other. Whose child is this? What is his name? Indeed the Dispensation of the Buddha is a wondrous thing. Indeed, the Sangha-Gem has virtue," and thus having realized this, while [the novice] was causing a tumult from the sound of praise spoken by those having pious confidence and from the simultaneous chanting of the *sādhukāra* along the main road, drawing the wishes of all beings toward himself and fulfilling them, that novice Nigrōdha, who was like an attractive young sprout on the Wish-fulfilling Tree of the Buddha's Dispensation, went to the upper floor of the royal palace in his natural stride with the virtues of contentment and joy shorn of defilements.

The king, who saw the novice come, said, "Please take a seat that is fitting for you, Sir." The novice, having thought, "Is there or isn't there a venerable one who is senior [to me]," and looking from one side to the other, concluded, "There is no venerable one senior to me in this place." Then going up to the throne that had a white parasol raised above it, he looked at the king's face so that he would take his alms-bowl. The king saw him go up to the throne and thought, "Even today the novice occupies the foremost place in this royal palace." The novice, placing the

alms-bowl in the king's hands, ascended to the throne and sat down. King Dharmāśoka, feeding the novice from the royal meal that had been prepared for himself, spoke thus at the end of the meal: "Reverend! Do you know the instruction that that the Buddha has given, Sir?" he asked. "Yes, Great King! I know a little bit of the instruction that the Buddha, the Teacher of the Three Worlds, has given us," he said. "If that is so, Reverend, please expound it to me also," he said. "Very well, Great King," he said. And while preaching the Dharma as suitable for the king, he delivered a sermon based on this verse from the Chapter on Diligence in the *Dhammapada*:

> Diligence is the path to immortality, sloth is the path to death,
> The vigilant do not die, those who are slothful are as if dead.[10]

And the king said, "Reverend, I have understood this much. Please conclude." At the end of the sermon he delivered, he received confirmation for a meal for thirty-two [monks]. On the following day, bringing along thirty-two venerable ones, he ate while in the royal palace. The king said "Please come bringing another thirty-two venerable ones tomorrow." And in this manner, increasing the number of monks day by day, he gave alms to sixty thousand monks and stopped giving food to the sixty thousand brahmins and heretics. The novice Nigrōdha, while establishing King Dharmāśoka along with his retinue in the Three Refuges and the Five Precepts, established the worldly persons in unwavering pious confidence in the Buddha's Dispensation.[11] Again the king, having built a great monastery named the Aśokārāma, setting out alms for sixty thousand monks, having eighty-four thousand monasteries built in all eighty-four thousand cities in Jambudvīpa, had eighty-four thousand relic shrines built. He did not have them built unrighteously. He only had them built righteously.

One day the king, giving a great gift of alms at the Aśokārāma, having sat in the middle of sixty thousand monks, entrusting them with the Fourfold Requisites,[12] asked, "Reverends! I will ask you a question, Sirs. What is the extent of the Dharma preached by the Meritorious Buddha?" Hearing that, the monks said, "Lord! According to its branches, it is nine.[13] According to its sections, there are eighty-four thousand sections of the Dharma." That king became serenely joyful in the Dharma of the Buddha and said, "I will make offerings to each section of the Dharma

with a monastery," and on that same day, having spent a fortune of ninety-six crores, and giving directions to his ministers, he spoke thus, "Ministers! Let eighty-four thousand monasteries be built by you with one monastery in each city," he commanded. The king started to have a monastery called the Aśokārāma built himself. The Great Sangha decided that a *thera* named Indagutta, who had great ability in psychic powers, would direct the work on that monastery. And if any tasks were not finished, that *thera* finished those tasks by means of his power. Those tasks were finished within three years. On that same day, letters were sent indicating that the monasteries in every city had been finished.

Thereupon the king read the letters and approached the Great Sangha, saying, "Reverends! The eighty-four thousand monasteries that I am building are finished. How do I obtain the relics?" "Lord! We have only heard that there is a relic deposit. But we do not know where it is," they said. Thereupon the king, accompanied by his retinue, taking hoes and pickaxes, breaking into the relic shrines in the city of Rajagahā, but not seeing relics inside those relic shrines, rebuilt those relic shrines just as they were before. Then taking along the entire [fourfold] community of monks, nuns, and male and female lay devotees, breaking into the relic shrines in the great city of Viśālā, but not seeing the relics in those relic shrines either, he rebuilt those relic shrines just as they were before. Then going to the city of Kiṁbulvat, breaking into the relic shrines there, but not seeing relics there either, fixing them also, and then going to Rāmagrāma, he began to break into that relic shrine.

At that time, the hoes and pickaxes employed to break the relic shrine shattered into bits and pieces because the *nāga*s did not permit it to be broken. And giving up the desire for [those] relics, not having obtained the [other] relics, having gone to the city of Allakappa, breaking into that relic shrine, not obtaining relics from that one either, he rebuilt it just like before. Then going to the city of Kusinārā, breaking into that relic shrine also, not seeing the relics there either, he fixed that relic shrine. Then coming to the city of Rajagahā on the following day, assembling the inhabitants of the city, he asked, "Is there any elderly man or elderly woman who has previously heard of or previously seen the relic deposit at such and such a place?" Everyone there said, "We do not know." And when the king went to the monastery and asked, "Is there a venerable one in the Great Sangha who knows where there is a relic deposit?" From among the monks who were assembled, a venerable one 120 years

old pleased the king's mind by saying, "Great King! I do not know whether the relic deposit is at such and such a place. But look, there is one thing. When I was seven years old, my preceptor, having me bring flowers, said, 'Novice! Come here. There is a relic shrine in the middle of such and such thorny trees. Let us go to that place.' Thus having brought me along and made offerings at that place, I only know that he spoke these words, 'Novice! Keep this place in mind.'"

The Great Sangha and the King who heard the words of the reverend said, "If that is so, the relics are at that very spot!" [The king] took along the Sangha, including that monk, and his retinue and went to the place he described. Then having the trees that covered it cut away, breaking into the relic shrine and removing the earth, seeing the limestone floor, removing the limestone bricks, and moving gradually into the inner chamber, seeing the sand of the seven precious materials and the contraption with hands that held swords, and employing exorcists [*yakäduran*] and having made offerings [*biliyaṁ*] to *yakṣa*s because those figures did not let him enter, but not obtaining a result in that way either, and invoking the deities, he said, "Taking these relics and establishing the relics in eighty-four thousand monasteries, I will honor them. Let the deities not make any impediment or obstacle."

At that time, Śakra, king of the gods, saw that while wandering on a journey. Then summoning the deity Viśvakarma and saying, "Dear boy! King Dharmāśoka is trying to remove the deposit and take the relics, thinking, 'I will remove the relic deposit, take the relics, and establish and honor them in the eighty-four thousand monasteries' that he built. Because of the power of the contraption you made, he cannot obtain them. Now go and remove that," he commanded. At Śakra's command, Viśvakarma, assuming the appearance of a young boy, tying five knots in the hair on his head, standing in front of the king with a bow in his hands, said, "Shall I open the ring of wooden figures, Lord?" And the king said, "Open it if you can."

Thereupon Viśvakarma fixed the arrow, struck the pin that held the entire connection, and knocked it down completely. The happy king, taking the key that had been tied on the cord for pulling the latch, and seeing the gems that were placed at the top of the threshold, read the letters inscribed on the gold plate, "In the future, may needy kings take these gems and make offerings to the relics." And saying, "Is it proper for a king like me to be called needy?" and opening the door, going into the

inner chamber, seeing the lamps that had been set up 218 years earlier burning as if they were set up at that moment, seeing the flowers that remained unwithered like flowers that had been picked and offered at that moment, seeing the perfumes that had been smeared without drying up as if they were smeared at that moment, he read the gold plate that said, "In the future, a king named Dharmāśoka, having become king and raised the white parasol, will take these relics and build eighty-four thousand monasteries." Then exclaiming happily, "I have been seen by the Mahāthera Mahasup," and folding his left hand and clapping with his right hand, leaving [enough] relics suitable for that place, having set every lock on the doors in the chamber just as before, and establishing a stone relic shrine on top of that, taking the relics to the eighty-four thousand monasteries, he had offerings made to them. In this way, King Dharmāśoka had eighty-four thousand relic shrines built in Jambudvīpa.

The manner in which those relic shrines were built ought to be understood from this.

Thus King Dharmāśoka, having built eighty-four thousand relic shrines, venerating the *mahāthera*s, asked, "Reverends! Am I included in the Dispensation of the Buddha?" The Great Sangha said to the king, "Great King! You are still an outsider to the Dispensation." "Reverends! When a king like me who has built eighty-four thousand monasteries and spent ninety-six crores of wealth is not included in the Dispensation, who is included?" he said. "Great King! You are a donor of the requisites. If anyone has either a son or daughter ordained, that one is included in the Dispensation," they said. The king, who heard those words, desiring inclusion in the Dispensation, seeing Prince Mihiňdu [Pāli: Mahinda] who stood nearby, asked, "What of that, Son? Can you be ordained?" The prince, having desired to be ordained even earlier, hearing with happiness the words his father-king spoke, said, "Very well! Father, having me ordained, may you be included in the Dispensation." Thus having heard his son's words, next seeing his daughter Saṅghamitrā [Pāli: Saṅghamittā] standing nearby, he asked, "And would you also like to become ordained?" That princess agreed too, saying, "Very well! Father, I too will become ordained in the Order of Nuns." The king, having obtained the consent of his children, happily going up to the Great Sangha, said, "Please ordain my two children and include me within the Dispensation."

The Great Sangha, having heard the king's words, ordained Prince Mihiňdu with the Mahāthera Moggalīputtatissa as his preceptor and

Mahādeva Thera as his teacher. Later they administered the higher ordination with Majjhantika Thera as his teacher and Mahādeva Thera as his preceptor. While he was still in the higher ordination hall, he became an *arahant* with the Fourfold Discriminating Knowledge. And Sanghamitra, having been taken to the nunnery, was ordained with the *arahant* nun [*bhikṣuṇī*] Āyupāli as her preceptor and the nun Dhammapālī as her teacher. From the point when the Mahāthera Mihiṅdu received higher ordination, while learning the Dhamma and Vinaya from his preceptor, having learned all this, namely, the recital of the Tripiṭaka that was incorporated in the two councils and the entire Theravāda along with the commentaries [*arthaḳathā*],[14] within three years, he became the leader of the one thousand monastic pupils of his preceptor.

At that time, the Mahāthera Moggalīputtatissa reflected, "Where may the Dispensation of the Buddha be established in the future?" And having ascertained that it would be established in the borderlands, he sent the monks to this and that country. How was that? He sent Majjhantika Thera to the Kāśmīra-Gandhāra region. He sent Dhammarakkhita Thera to the Vanavāsī country. He sent the Yonaka Dhammarakkhita Thera to the Aparanta region.[15] He sent Mahādeva Thera to Mahimaṇḍala. He sent Mahādhammarakkhita Thera to Maharaṭa. He sent Mahārakkhita Thera to the Yona kingdom. He sent Majjhima Thera to the Himālaya forest region. He sent Soṇa Thera and Uttara Thera to Svarṇabhūmi.[16] And while speaking to the five venerable ones including his coresident the Mahathera Mihiṅdu, the Thera Iṭṭhiya, the Thera Uttiya, the Thera Bhaddasāla, and the Thera Sambala, he directed them, "Go to Laṅkādvīpa and establish the Dispensation there."[17] And all the venerable ones who were going in this and that direction, went as the fifth one [in their respective groups].[18]

7

ESTABLISHING THE DISPENSATION IN LAṄKĀ

The *thera*s who went to this and that country delivered sermons to the people in the various countries where they went, aroused their serene joy, and established the Dispensation. Again the Mahāthera Mihiṅdu, while being requested by his preceptor and by the other monks, "Go to Laṅkā and establish the Dispensation," thought thus, "Is this the time to go to Lakdiva or not?" And while concluding that King Muṭasīva, who was ruling Lakdiva at that time, was old, he thought, "It is not possible to establish the Dispensation with this elderly king. [But] his son Devanapātis [Pāli: Devānaṁpiyatissa] will accede to the king's throne. It will be possible to establish the Dispensation with him. I will visit my relatives until he becomes king. It would be good to visit my relatives since I do not know whether I will come to this region again." Then venerating his preceptor and the other monks, taking his leave, and setting off from the Aśokārama where he stayed, while traveling in the region named Dakṣiṇāgiri near the city of Rajagahā along with the Thera Iṭṭhiya, the novice Sumana, who was the son of his younger sister, the Therī Saṅghamitrā, and the lay devotee Bhaṇḍuka, he spent six months visiting relatives. While traveling, he came to the city of Vēdisa where his mother was staying. His mother, having seen the *thera* who had come, venerating at his feet and giving him food, taking the *thera* to the Vēdisagiri monastery that she had built, made him rest.

The Mahāthera Mahinda [*mahinda mahā sthavirayō*] who was living in that monastery reflected, "I have finished what I should do here. Now it is time for me to go to Lakdiva." And then he again reflected, "Let King Devanapātis, having experienced the joy of consecration with the five articles of royal insignia—namely, the white parasol, the royal sword, the golden diadem, the pair of golden sandals, and the yak-tail whisk-fan, that were sent by my father King Dharmāśoka; having heard about the virtue in the Three Refuges, set off from the city for the festival and climb the Sāgiri Mountain! Let him see us while he is there." He then dwelt there one [more] month. When that month passed, Śakra, king of the gods, approached the Mahāthera Mihiňdu, venerated at his feet, and announced, "Reverend! King Muṭasīva of Lakdiva has passed away. Now his son Devanapātis has acceded to the king's throne. Having received the insignia of royalty that were sent to him by your father King Dharmāśoka, he held a second consecration. Having also heard about the virtue of the Three Refuges, he has become happy. When the Buddha, the Teacher of the Three Worlds, was living, he declared, 'In the future a *thera* named Mihiňdu, having aroused serene joy among the people of Lakdiva, causing them to remove the five sins [*pas pav*], will establish the Dispensation that will continue for five thousand years in this and that place.'[1] Therefore, Sir, may you go to Lakdiva. I too will assist you," he said.

And the *thera*, having heard the words spoken by Śakra, king of the gods, said, "Very well." Then ascending into the sky with six others from the Vēdisagiri monastery, he alighted on the peak of the Sāgiri Mountain east of Anurādhapura as quickly as it takes a spider web to become blackened by fire. On that day in Lakdiva, the Mula asterism [*nakata*] arrived for the festival celebrating the full-moon day in Poson.[2] The king said to his ministers, "Let us celebrate that asterism." Then setting off from the city accompanied by forty thousand persons, the king went to the Sāgiri Mountain. Next, the deity residing there, thought, "I will reveal the *thera*s to the king." Then assuming the form of a *rohita* deer, it wandered around as if eating grass in a nearby spot. The king saw that and thought, "It is not proper to shoot a deer eating grass," so he plucked his bowstring. The deer heard that sound and set off toward the mountain. The king followed behind the deer and ascended the mountain. The deer, having gone up toward the *thera*s, disappeared. The Mahāthera Mihiňdu, having seen the king who was coming, resolved, "Let the king

see me but let him not see the others." And then he said, "Come here, Tissa."[3]

The king who heard those words, thought, "There is no one born in Lakdiva who is able to address me by name. But this person, covered in saffron robes consisting of cut and torn cloth, addresses me as 'Tissa.' Is he a human? Or perhaps he is a nonhuman?" the king thought. At that time, the *thera* recited this verse:

We are recluses, Great King, disciples of the King of Dhamma,
We have come here from Jambudīpa out of compassion for you.[4]

Although King Devanapātis had never seen King Dharmāśoka, he was his friend. By the power of King Devanapātis's merit, three bamboo poles arose in a bamboo thicket close to the Chāta Mountain. One was called the "creeper pole," one was called the "flower pole," and one was called the "bird pole." From among them, that creeper pole was silver-colored. The creeper that arose decorating it appears like a gold creeper.[5] On the flower pole, well-apportioned stems, petals, and filaments of flowers that are blue, yellow, red, black, and white appear. On the bird pole, such birds as swans, roosters, pheasants, and many additional birds appear as if alive. Many kinds of pearls, gems, and cat's-eye gems rose up from the ocean. In the island of Taṁbapän [Pāli: Tambapaṇṇi, i.e., Laṅkā], eight kinds of pearls arose. What were those pearls? They were the "elephant pearl," the "horse pearl," the "chariot pearl," the pearl that was like the myrobalan fruit, the "bracelet pearl," the pearl that is put on the finger, the pearl like the *kuṁbūk* fruit, and the "natural pearl." King Devanapātis sent those three poles, the pearls, and other precious objects not mentioned to King Dharmāśoka as a gift. King Dharmāśoka, happily seeing those gifts, sent the Five Insignia of Royalty for the sake of consecration and many other gifts. But it was not only these gifts. He also sent a gift, namely the Dharma. And how was that?

He spoke and sent a message [to King Devanapātis], "Having heard the Dharma of the Buddha, I have gone for refuge in the Three Refuges. Taking up the refuge of the Three Refuges, may you also become a lay devotee just like me." King Devanapātis, recalling how he heard about the Dispensation not long before,[6] hearing the words, "We are recluses" and so forth as spoken by the *thera*, and thinking that *arahant*s had come, cast aside the bow and arrow in his hands, venerated him, and sat on one

side. Thus while he was seated and making friendly conversation with the *thera*, the forty thousand soldiers came and gathered around the king. At that time, the *thera* revealed the other *thera*s who had come along with him. The king saw the venerable ones and asked, "When did they come?" "Great King! They came right along with me," he said. Then the king asked, "What! Reverend, are there more recluses like this in Daṁbadiva?" At that time the *thera* said, "Lord! Daṁbadiva shines with saffron robes." At that time the king, venerating the five venerable ones including the *mahāthera*, saying, "Reverend! Tomorrow morning I will send a chariot. Please ascend into that chariot and come," and having thus invited them, he went to the city.

Not long after the king had gone, the Mahāthera Mihiṅdu summoned the novice Sumana and said, "Sumana, now is the proper time for a sermon. Announce that it is time for listening to the sermon." The novice entered into the fourth trance state that is the basis for the Higher Knowledges, rose out of it, made a resolution with a one-pointed mind, and cried out the proper time in a voice heard throughout the whole of Lakdiva. The terrestrial deities, hearing that cry, announced it [in turn]. In this very manner the sound rose up to the *brahmā* world. The *thera*, seeing the great assembly of gods who came because of that sound, preached the Samacitta Sūtra.[7] At the end of that sermon, innumerable gods achieved nirvana. Many *nāga*s and *garuḍa*s became established in the Refuges and Precepts.

When the dawn came, the king sent a chariot. At that time the *thera* said to the charioteer, "We will not ascend into the chariot. You go ahead! We will come." And having thus sent him away, ascending into the sky, he proceeded to the site where the first relic shrine would be built east of Anurādhapura. The king, having sent the charioteer, adorned a pavilion in the inner royal palace and thought, "Will the Noble Ones sit in seats or not?" And while he was thinking, the charioteer who had come to the gateway of the city, seeing the *thera*s who had arrived before him and were adjusting their robes, became astonished, and went to tell the king, "Lord! The *thera*s have come." The king asked, "Did the *thera*s climb into the chariot and come?" "Lord! They did not climb into the chariot. They left after me, but arrived at the palace gate before me," he reported. The king, hearing how they came without climbing into the chariot, ordering, "If that is so, look here! Arrange the seats on the ground," went forth to meet them. The ministers spread leaves on the ground as directed by the king,

spread fleece rugs on top of the leaves, and arranged the seats attractively. The king, having venerated the *thera*s, taking the bowl from the hands of the Mahāthera Mihiňdu, inviting and escorting them into the city with great honor, bringing them into the royal palace, having seated them respectfully, fed them delicious rice gruel and cakes with his very own hand. Five hundred women being led by Queen Anulā, giving offerings and hospitality to the *thera*s, venerating them, sat on one side surrounding the king. The Mahāthera Mihiňdu, while preaching the Dharma to the king and his retinue, delivered a sermon consisting of the *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu*, and the Saccasaṃyutta.[8] Five hundred women heard that sermon and became Stream-enterers.

At that time the inhabitants of the city heard about the virtues of the *thera*s and made an uproar, saying, "We don't get to see the *thera*s!" At that time the king, having thought, "There is no room in here," said, "Now look! Go! Preparing the elephant stable, spreading sand, sprinkling the Five Auspicious Flowers, and setting up the white canopies, arrange seats for the *thera*s where the royal elephant is kept." The ministers did just that. The *thera*s, having gone there and sat, preached the Devadūta Sutta.[9] At the end of the sermon, one thousand persons became Stream-enterers. Again, concluding that the elephant stable was crowded, they arranged seats in the Naňdun Park at the southern gate. The *thera*s, having gone there and sat, preached the Āsivisopama Sutta.[10] At the end of that sermon, one thousand persons became Stream-enterers. On the following day, 2,500 persons became Stream-enterers. The *thera*s, having made pleasant conversation with the noblewomen, daughters-in-law of noble families, and girls of noble families who had come to the Nandana Grove, realizing that it was time to go because it had become evening, said, "We will go to Mihintalā," and went away. The ministers housed them in the Great Park.[11]

When morning came, the king thought, "I will go to Mihintalā where the *thera*s are residing." Then going there, venerating them and sitting on one side, he inquired, "Was the night spent comfortably?" He again asked, "Reverend, is a hermitage appropriate for monks?" And hearing him say, "It is appropriate," the king, happily escorting the *thera*, having a gold pitcher brought, pouring water on the hand of the *thera*, dedicated the Mahamevunā Park. On the following day the *thera* ate in the royal palace and delivered a sermon from the Anamatagga Sutta while in the Nandana Grove.[12] And again on the following day he delivered a sermon

from the Aggikkhandhopama Sutta.[13] In this very manner he preached the Dharma for seven days. Thus 8,500 persons realized the immortal great nirvana from the sermon he delivered. On the seventh day, he delivered a sermon to the king in the inner palace from the Appamāda Sutta and then went to the Mihintalā rock.[14]

Thereupon the king thought, "The *thera* came even without an invitation. Because he came without word, perhaps he will be going [likewise]." He then ascended into the chariot and went to Mihintalā. When he was approaching the *thera* breathless and fatigued, the *thera* inquired, "Great King, why have you come so very fatigued?" And [the king] replied, "Reverend! I came thinking that you, Sir, having given important instruction, might now perhaps be going." And the *thera* said, "Lord! We did not come with the intention of returning to Daṁbadiva. However, the proper time for spending the rains retreat is near. It behooves monks to go and look for a place to spend the rains retreat." The king heard that and said, "Reverend, I will have a relic shrine built at the place where you stay, Sir." At that moment he began the work, having dripledges in sixty-eight caves carved on Mihintalā peak, encircling the Kaṇṭaka relic shrine. The *thera* spent the rains retreat on Mihintalā while giving instruction to many people. When all the work was completed, the Mahāthera Mihiṅdu, having spent the rains retreat [there], spoke again to the king on the full-moon day of the month of Il.[15]

"King! We have not seen the Fully Awakened Buddha for a long time. We are despondent because there is no place for venerating and making offerings," he said. The king heard those words and asked, "Why, Reverend! Didn't you say that the Buddha, the Teacher of the Three Worlds, passed away in *parinirvāṇa*?" The *thera* said, "Great King! Although the Buddha has passed away, the relics of the Buddha remain." At that time the king said, "Reverend, I understand. I will have relic shrines built.[16] Where do I obtain the relics?" At that time the novice Sumana said, "Great King, do not strain yourself. When you have made the main road in the city attractive, removed the refuse and dirt, removed the black sand, sprinkled white sand, raised flags and banners, decorated the main road with banana trees, archways, and filled water pots, and so on, readied yourself along with the army, provided all the fivefold drums and instruments, decorated the royal elephant with the elephant ornaments, and raised the white parasol on the back of the elephant, you will obtain the relics this afternoon after going to the Mahamevunā

Park." The king, having agreed, saying, "Very well," departed. The *thera* went to Mihintalā.

The Mahāthera Mihiṅdu summoned his nephew, the novice Sumana, and said, "Sumana, go to Daṁbadiva to your grandfather, King Dharmāśoka, and speak these words. 'Lord, King Devanapātis, who is your friend, having aroused much serene joy in the Dispensation of the Buddha, wishes to build relic shrines. You have Buddha relics. Please give them to me.' And having thus requested, taking them and going to Śakra, king of the gods, say, 'Śakra! It is said that you possess both the Right Tooth Relic and the Right Collar Bone Relic. Of the two, making offerings and venerating the Right Tooth Relic, give the Right Collar Bone Relic to me.' And if he says, 'Why?' say, 'Śakra, king of the gods, having sent us to Laṅkādvīpa, why do you hesitate?' "

The novice Sumana heard those words and assented, "Very well, Sir." Then taking up the bowl and robe at that instant, ascending into the air, and then descending at the entrance of the royal palace at the city of Päḷalup in the time it takes to bend one's arm, he went before the king and related that news. The king, happily hearing that news, taking the bowl from the hand of the novice, feeding him, anointing the bowl with perfume and filling it with relics akin to excellent pearls, gave it to him. The venerable one took those relics and went up to Śakra, king of the gods, in the blink of an eye. When Śakra, king of the gods, having seen the novice and venerated his resplendent feet, asked, "Reverend Novice! Why have you come?" he answered, "Śakra, King of the Gods! Having sent us to Laṅkādvīpa, why do you hesitate?" Hearing those words, Śakra, king of the gods, said, "I do not hesitate." Thereupon the novice said, "If that is so, both the Right Tooth Relic and the Right Collar Bone Relic are in your hands. Of these, leaving aside the Right Tooth Relic, give the Right Collar Bone Relic to me."[17] Śakra, king of the gods, who heard that speech, receiving the words he spoke with the utmost respect, said, "Very well, Sir." Then lifting up the jeweled relic shrine four *gavu*s in height, taking the Collar Bone Relic, he gave it to the novice. And the novice turned and went to Mihintalā. Thereupon the other *thera*s led by the Mahāthera Mihiṅdu, depositing the bowl of relics that was given by King Dharmāśoka on the Mihintalā rock, took the Right Collar Bone Relic and proceeded to the Mahamevunā Park in the afternoon.

At that time King Devanapātissa venerated the novice, made offerings to the relic in the very manner he was instructed, placed the white parasol

on the elephant's back and went to the Mahamevunā Park. At that time a thought like this occurred to the king. What was it? He thought, "If this is the relic of the Fully Awakened Buddha, let this white parasol I have raised lean over, let the royal elephant drop his right knee down on the ground, and let this relic casket become established on my head." And when he thought this, the parasol that he had raised became lowered. The elephant dropped his knee down to the ground. And the relic casket became established on the king's head. At that time the king, being filled with extraordinary joy like a cup of *tolabō* leaves filled by the wind, again said, "Reverend! What should I do with this relic?"

At that time, the Mahāthera Mihiňdu said, "Great King! Put the relic casket on the elephant's back." He put the relic casket on the elephant's back just as the *thera* said. That majestic elephant, delighted, made a trumpeting sound. At that time, the "lotus shower" began to fall. The earth with a thickness of 240,000 leagues rumbled and quaked up to the surrounding ocean. At that time the majestic elephant, surrounded by the beating of various kinds of several hundred drums and by the sound of several hundred trumpets, retreated backward with great honor and reverence while facing the west. And having gone up to the western gate, entering the inner city by the eastern gate,[18] and while all the city dwellers were making abundant offerings, it departed from the southern gate. There is a place named Prabhejavastu west of the site where the Thūpārāma Relic Shrine would be established [in the future]. Going to that place, it stopped and again faced the site of the Thūpārāma.

On that site, from among the three venerable ones who became Buddhas earlier, the Water Strainer Relic of Kakusaňda Buddha had been established. The Belt Relic of Konāgamana Buddha had been established. The Bathing Robe of Kāśyapa Buddha had been established. When the relic shrines that enshrined the relics of these three Buddhas were destroyed at that place, it remained surrounded by numerous trees covered with thorns by the power of the gods. Why? So it would not become unclean with something such as excrement, urine, or rubbish.

Thereupon the royal officers, having gone in front of the elephant, having cut and removed the trees, made the ground even like the face of a drum. The majestic elephant went to that site and stood facing the site where the Sacred Bodhi Tree [*śrī mahābodhīn vahansē*] is now established to the west of it. Thereupon, having grasped the relic on the elephant's back, they began to take it down. But the majestic elephant did not permit the

relic to be taken down. [The king] went and related that fact to the *thera*. "Reverend, why doesn't the elephant permit the relic to be taken down from his back?" he asked. The *thera* replied, "Great King, it is not proper to climb up and take down the relic." At that time the water in the Abā tank had dried up. The entire tank had become cracked into lumps [of clay]. The king, employing many people, having them bring lumps of clay, placed it in a pile as high as the frontal globes of the elephant. At that moment he began to have bricks cut for building the relic shrine. Up until the bricks had been cut and finished, the majestic elephant continued to remain in the elephant stable for a few days during the daytime. At nighttime it walked around the place where the relic shrine was being built.

At that time the king asked the *thera*, "Reverend! How shall I have the relic shrine built?" "Lord! In the manner of a heap of paddy," he replied. "Very good, Reverend," and having thus assented, building the foundation as high as the knee [of the elephant], he showed great honor for the sake of establishing the relic. Thereupon the citizens and villagers assembled for the relic offering. While many persons continued looking, the relic rose up into the air about seven palm trees in height from the elephant's frontal globes, performed the Twin Miracle, emitting a multitude of six-colored Buddha-rays, and again released a jet of water and a column of fire. That relic also displayed diverse kinds of miracles that the Buddha displayed when he was alive to overwhelm the arrogance of heretics. And those miracles [appeared] neither by the power of the Mahāthera Mihiňdu or by the power of the gods. Then how did those miracles appear? It was solely by the power of the Buddha.

Again, when the Buddha was alive, he made a resolution saying, "In the future, on the day when my Right Collar Bone Relic is established where relic shrines were built for the relics of the three previous Buddhas in the region south of Anuradhapura in Laṅkādvīpa, let the display of the Twin Miracle make the gods and people happy."[19] On that day, there was no place in this Laṅkādvīpa that was not made wet by the jet of water that issued forth from the relic. Thus having performed the Twin Miracle, extinguishing the heat in all of Laṅkādvīpa and wetting the entire land with the stream of water, descending from the sky, it settled on the head of King Devanapātissa. At that time the king, thinking happily, "My human condition has surely borne its fruit," and making great offerings, he established the relic. When he established the relic, the

great earth rumbled and quaked. When the requisite tasks for that relic shrine were completed, the king, the king's younger brother, and the queen-consorts made offerings to the relic individually, astounding all of the deities, *nāga*s, and *yakṣa*s.

The Account of the Thūpārāma in the *Thūpavaṃsa*, which was composed for the sake of arousing serene joy in the minds of virtuous persons, ought to be understood in this way.

The Account of the Thūpārāma is finished.

Thus when the construction of the Thūpārāma Relic Shrine was finished, the Mahāthera Mihiňdu resided there during the rains retreat.[20] At that time Queen Anulā informed the king that she wished to be ordained. And the king, hearing the queen's words, went up to the *thera* and announced, "Reverend! Queen Anulā wishes to be ordained. Please ordain her." "Great King! It is not proper for us to ordain women. In the city of Päḷalup, there is a *theri* named Sammīt [Pāli: Saṅghamittā], who is my younger sister. Invite her and let her ordain the queen," and again [the *mahāthera*] said, "Great King! The Bodhi Trees of the Fully Awakened Buddhas in the past were established in Laṅkādvīpa. It is fitting to establish the Bodhi Tree of our Buddha in this Laṅkādvīpa. Therefore send messengers with letters to the Therī Saṅghamittā so that she will come bringing the Sacred Bodhi Tree [*śrī mahā bōdhīn vahansē*]."

And the king, hearing the words of the *thera*, conferring with his ministers, spoke thus to the prince named Ariṭṭha, who was his nephew. "Nephew! Are you able to go to the city of Päḷalup and bring back the Sacred Bodhi Tree and the Therī Saṅghamittā?" he asked. The prince said to the king, "Lord! I am able if you allow me to be ordained when I have completed this task." The king said, "May you be ordained after bringing back the *therī* and the Bodhi Tree."

At that time, Prince Ariṭṭha, taking the messages from the *thera* and the king, going to the port village called Jambukoḷa in the same day by the power of the *thera*'s resolution, boarding a ship and crossing the ocean, went to the city of Päḷalup, and told King Dharmāśoka why he came. What did he say? "Lord! The Mahāthera Mihiňdu, who is your son, has said, 'Queen Anulā, the wife of the younger brother of your friend King Devanapātissa, wishes to be ordained. Please send the noble Therī Saṅghamitrā to ordain her and please send the Sacred Bodhi Tree along with her.'" Next, the prince, appearing before the Therī Saṅghamitrā, venerating at her

resplendent feet, putting both hands against his head, said, "Noble One! The Mahāthera Mihiṅdu, who is your brother, has sent me. Queen Anulā, the wife of the younger brother of King Devanapātissa, wishes to be ordained along with five hundred women of the court. Please go and ordain them." Listening to the message sent by her brother, rising up immediately from her seat, going up to King Dharmāśoka, she said, "Lord! I will go to Laṅkādvīpa."

The king, who heard those words, said, "Daughter, if that is so, may you also take along the Sacred Bodhi Tree." Then assembling a crowd measuring twenty-eight *gavu*s in length and twelve *gavu*s in width between the city of Päḷalup and the Bodhi Seat, setting off from the city of Päḷalup with great ceremony, inviting the Great Sangha along, and going before the Victorious Sacred Bodhi Tree, making offerings with numerous kinds of flowers, incense, and perfumes to the Bodhi Tree, which had golden flags and banners raised [around it], which shone with jewels, and which was decorated with various dazzling ornaments, and making offerings to the Sacred Bodhi Tree with the sound of drums and the sound of trumpets numbering in the hundreds of thousands, they gathered around it.

Thereupon the king, having made offerings with flowers and perfumes, circumambulated it three times, prostrating fully and venerating it in eight places. Rising up, placing both hands on his head and venerating it, and making an act of truth [*satyakriyā*],[21] ascending a golden ladder to take [a branch of] the Great Bodhi Tree, taking a brush of precious material with his hand, drawing a line with the brush and circling the girth of the southern branch with gold orpiment, saying, "If the Bodhi Tree is destined to be established in Laṅkādvīpa, and if I have no doubts toward the Buddha, let the Bodhi Tree be separated at the line I have drawn and be established in this gold vessel," he made the act of truth. Following that act of truth, the Bodhi Tree separated its branch as if it were cut off by a saw and was established in the gold vessel that had been set up and filled with scented mud.

Thereupon the king, taking [the branch] from the Bodhi Seat with abundant offerings and honor to the city of Päḷalup, carrying the Bodhi Tree with the entire ceremonial procession to a ship on the river, and setting off from the city, crossing the great Vindhyā Forest, he arrived at the port of Tamaliṅgamu in seven days. On the way, deities, *nāga*s, and humans made great offerings to the Bodhi Tree. And the king, placing it

at the edge of the sea, showing it great honor for seven days, conducting the Bodhi Tree, the Therī Sammit, and the remaining retinue up to the ship, thought, "The Bodhi Tree that emits the six-colored rays of the Buddha, the Bearer of the Ten Powers, is going to Laṅkā." And while venerating with happiness, having put both hands on his head, he stood while shedding streams of tears from his eyes. While everyone stood looking, the ship upon which that Bodhi Tree ascended, flying across the surface of the ocean, set off like a majestic *garuḍa,* six hundred leagues in height, going through the air. The waves of the great ocean were quieted in an area about four *gavu*s on all sides of that ship. It was decorated with the five kinds of lotuses. The gods in the sky beat heavenly drums. There were endless offerings presented by the gods in the sky, on the sea, and on land. Thus while great offerings were being made, that ship came in sight of the port village Jambukoḷa [Sinhala: Daṁbakoḷa].

King Devanapātissa, hearing that the Bodhi Tree had descended into the port, decorating the road from the north gate up to the port of Daṁbakoḷa like a heavenly city, and set off from the city. And because he saw the ocean while standing near the city, the hall built on that site was named the Samudraśālā for the sake of proclaiming that marvel. While he was standing in that hall, seeing the Bodhi Tree that was coming across the ocean with great reverence by means of the power of the *thera*, and setting off with a happy mind, decorating the entire road with the five-colored flowers, setting up festooned pillars of flowers at intervals in between, and he traveled to the port in a single day. Then having endless kinds of drums beaten, and having hundreds of trumpets sounded, making offerings with flowers and perfumes, descending into the water up to his neck, thinking, "The Bodhi Tree that emits the six-colored rays of the Buddha, the Bearer of the Ten-Powers, has arrived," and while having a happy mind, lifting the Bodhi Tree with its gold vessel and putting it on his head, bringing it out from the ocean along with the nobles made up of sixteen families who had come along with the Bodhi Tree, placing the Bodhi Tree on the seashore, making an offering of Laṅkādvīpa to the Bodhi Tree for three days, he took the Bodhi Tree away on the fourth day.

Having come to Anurādhapura in due course with great honor, making great offerings while in the city, taking the Bodhi Tree on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, and having entered into the inner city by the north gate, conducting it through the middle of the city, having set off

from the south gate, [the king] established the Bodhi Tree at the gateway to the royal garden, which had landscaping that was done in the Mahamevunā Park, at a spot close to the south gate about five hundred bow-lengths away from where our Buddha and the three [previous] Buddhas had been sitting when they entered into the Attainment of Cessation [*nirodha samāpattiya*], and at which place the Maharī Bodhi Tree of Kakusaňda Buddha, the Diṁbul Bodhi Tree of Konāgamana Buddha, and where the Nigrodha Bodhi Tree of Kāśyapa Buddha were all situated.

The Account of the Arrival of the Bodhi Tree is finished.

Thereupon Queen Anulā, having been ordained with five hundred queen-consorts and five hundred harem women in the presence of the Therī Sanghamittā, became an *arahant* with her retinue after a few days. Thereupon the king's nephew Ariṭṭha, having been ordained with five hundred royal officers by the Mahāthera Mihiňdu, became an *arahant* after a few days.

One day, while the king, having venerated the Bodhi Tree, was going to the Thūpārāma with the *thera* [Mihiňdu], royal officers brought and gave campaka flowers to the king, who had come near the site where the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion [*lōvāmahāpāya*] would be built [in the future].[22] The king gave those flowers to the *thera*. The *thera* took those flowers and offered them on the ground where the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion would be established. At that moment when the flowers were offered on the ground, the great earth shook. The king saw the earth shake and asked, "Reverend! Why did the earth shake?" "Great King, the Buddha was present at the spot where I offered these flowers. In the future an *uposatha* house will be built for the Sangha.[23] This is the omen for that," he said.

Again, one day the *thera* came with the king to the place where the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands would be constructed. On that day too they brought and gave campaka flowers to the king. And the king gave those campaka flowers to the *thera*. The *thera* venerated and offered the flowers at the site where the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands would be established. At that time, the great earth shook. Then the king asked, "Reverend! Why did the earth shake?" And the *thera* said, "Lord, our Buddha remained at this site for a moment's time. At this site in the future, they will build a great and wondrous relic shrine enshrining the

relics of the world-transcending Buddha. This is the omen for that." The king who heard those words said, "Reverend! If that is so, I will build that relic shrine." "King! There are other meritorious acts that you must do. A king named Duṭugämuṇu [Pāli: Duṭṭhagāmanī], who will be your grandson, will build the relic shrine," he said. The king who heard those words said, "Reverend! If my grandson builds it, then it will be as if I did it." Saying thus, having a stone pillar of twelve cubits brought, having letters inscribed that, "In the future a king named Duṭugämuṇu Abā, who will be the grandson of King Devanapātissa, will build a relic shrine at this site," he had it erected.

Thereupon King Devanapātissa, taking the bowlful of relics left at Mihintalā, having them brought by an elephant, building relic shrines every four *gavu*s throughout Laṅkādvīpa, having the relics enshrined, and making offerings, kept the Bowl Relic in the royal palace and made offerings to it.[24]

The Account of the Thūpas by the League is finished.

Thereupon King Devanapātissa, having done many other meritorious acts, ruled for forty years.[25] When he died, his younger brother, King Uttiya, ruled for ten years. Following him, his younger brother, King Mahāsīva, ruled for ten years. His younger brother, King Sūratissa, ruled for ten years. After King Sūratissa, two Demaḷas who were the sons of a horse-freighter, having killed King Sūratissa, ruled righteously and peacefully for twenty-three years. Subsequently a king named Asel, who was the son of King Muṭasīva, having seized and killed the two of them, ruled for ten years. Subsequently a king named Eḷāra of the Soḷi [Coḷa] country, having killed King Asel, ruled for forty-four years. King Duṭugämuṇu, having fought with King Eḷāra, killing King Eḷāra, became king.

8

THE EARLY CAREER OF KING DUṬUGÄMUṆU

This is the story in chronological order of that King Duṭugämuṇu:

There was once a viceroy named Mahānāga, who was the second younger brother of King Devanapātissa. The chief queen of the king, desiring to give the kingdom to her own son, having put poison in a mango, putting it in a pot with other mangoes, placed the poisoned mango on top and sent it to the younger brother-viceroy who was building the Tarasnā tank. At that time, upon removing the seal of the container that carried the mangoes, the prince himself, taking with his hand the posioned mango fruit that was placed on top, ate it and died instantly. The viceroy, realizing what happened, cut off his desire [for the kingdom] out of fear of the queen, abandoned the strong desire for ruling, took his queen and army, and fled to the Rūṇu [Pāli: Rohana] country without telling King Devanapātis, who was his brother. On the way, the queen of the king who was fleeing gave birth to a son while at the monastery Yaṭāla. They gave his brother's name to the son who was born. After the queen had bathed, having set off from there, [Mahānāga] killed the king who was living in Māgama and ruled Rūṇu.

After his demise, his son, the prince named Yaṭālatis, ruled Māgama. Thereafter his son, the king named Goṭhābhaya, ruled Māgama. Then King Kāvantis [Pāli: Kavantissa], the son of King Goṭhābhaya, ruled that Māgama.

As for King Kavantissa, he had a queen named Vihāramahādevī. What kind of person was she? There once was a king named Kälaṇitissa. He had a younger brother Uttiya. That younger brother had an illicit relationship with King Kälaṇitis's chief queen-consort. When that became known, having fled out of fear of his brother, and while living at a safe place, he sent a secret message to the queen out of the love he felt for her. How did he do it? Summoning a man, dressing him in robes, and handing the letter to him, he sent him to [the city of] Kälaṇiya. The person who took that secret letter arrived at the royal palace of the king. A *thera* who was an *arahant* always came to eat at that royal palace. Without having disclosed it to the *thera*, the accomplice who carried that letter entered the inner palace along with him, sat at the end, and ate. When the king set off to follow behind the *thera* at the end of the meal, [the accomplice], having been behind them, dropped the letter on the ground in a manner apparent to the queen. The king, having given his hand out of affection to the *thera*, heard the sound of the letter hitting the ground and looked back. Seeing the letter, that King Kälaṇitis, who lacked knowledge said, "The handwriting of this letter could be of no one else but this *thera*." Being unable to recognize the handwriting of his younger brother because of his anger,[1] killing the accomplice who carried the letter, having him thrown into the ocean, and saying, "Seize the *thera*!" put him into a cauldron of oil. But while heating the oil, he was unable to make the oil hot.

While remaining in the cauldron of oil, the *thera* thought, "Why doesn't the oil become hot?" And while looking with his Divine Eye, he realized, "When I was born as a cowherd in a former birth, I dropped a fly in a pot of boiling hot milk and killed it. It is not the king's fault. It is the karma I did in a former birth." Then discarding his resolve, he boiled in the oil and passed away in *parinirvāṇa*.[2] At that time the deities, becoming angered by the sorrow they felt for the *thera*, said, "We will flood and destroy this king and his kingdom." And making the ocean rise up, they began to flood the city. At that time King Kälaṇitissa, adorning his own daughter Devī, who had extraordinary beauty like a goddess, seating her in a pot, and having an inscription written on the pot explaining that she was a princess, released her upon the ocean water.[3]

At that time the fishermen of King Kāvantissa saw the pot in which the princess was floating and related that news to the king. The king, reacting with happiness to those words, came and had the inscription on

the pot stating that she was a princess read aloud. Then taking the princess, going to Māgama in a great procession, having her washed and bathed from the head down with sixteen pots of scented water, having her dressed in golden clothing, having her adorned with every ornament, having her stand on top of a pile of precious materials, pouring the water of consecration from a golden conch, having announced her by the name Vihāradēvī, because he erected a monastery at the port where she landed, appointed her as his chief queen.

At that time Vihāradēvī was very dear and delightful to King Kāvantissa. One day when those two were living happily, Vihāradēvī gave many alms to the Sangha at the royal palace, fed the monks, had such things as perfumes, flowers, oil, and medicine brought at the end of the meal, and went to the monastery in a great procession. Having gone, giving those gifts of medicines, and so on, to the Great Sangha, venerating at their resplendent feet and requesting, "I wish to hear of the fruit of the alms I have given," she sat on one side with her retinue to listen to the sermon. At that time the *thera* who was preaching the Dharma to Vihāradēvī was seated and spoke thus. How did he speak?

"Having received prosperity like this by the force of the merit you did in days gone by, now also if you do merit without being negligent, receiving prosperity greater than this in the future, you will perceive nirvana," he said.

Vihāradēvī heard those words and spoke thus to the *thera*. "Reverend! I am barren. I do not have a child. What use is there of prosperity?" she said. The *thera* who heard this—being a Son of the Omniscient One, who had devoted his life to moral conduct, and who was a noble achiever of the paths and fruits, thinking, "Could there be a fortunate cause for her to have a son?" and while examining with his Divine Eye, perceiving that she would have a child—said, "Meritorious queen! Talk with the novice dwelling in that house, who is sick and close to death." The queen who heard those words, going to the living quarters, approaching the novice who lay in that house, venerating him by putting both hands on her head, entreated him saying, "Reverend. My prosperity is very great. Having passed away from this existence, please become my child." The novice, who heard those words, thinking that the human condition is loathsome, did not consent. That Vihāradēvī, who was knowledgeable, ascertained that fact, and having many perfumes and flowers brought, making the novice touch them,[4] offering the flowers, again entreated him to become

her child. The novice did not consent. Then that Vihāradēvī, who knew the novice's intention, having had medicinal goods such as myrobalan, sugarcane jaggery, and cow's ghee, as well as robes and fine cloth brought, made the novice touch them with his hand and said, "Reverend. I will give these offerings in your name." Then giving them to the Great Sangha, she again entreated him to become her child. At that time the novice thought, "If I was born poor, I would not be able to make merit. But if I was born as a king, taking conception in the womb of this queen, I could make a lot of merit." Then looking with loving-kindness at the face of the queen as if saying, "I will become your child," he consented.[5]

Then the queen, who had a happy mind, venerating and taking her leave, ascended into the carriage. At the very moment she departed, the novice expired and took conception in the queen's womb as if her womb was filled with diamonds, even before the queen reached the palace. At that moment the queen, realizing that the novice had died, halting the journey on which she going, returning to the monastery, sending word to King Kāvantissa that the novice had died, had the king brought. The couple, making offerings and showing respect, thought, "Residing in the monastery, we will not go back to the royal palace without giving a great gift of alms to the Great Sangha."

Thereupon the meritorious queen had a craving of this kind. What was her craving? Cravings to this extent arose in the queen, namely, to eat from a giant honeycomb that is one hundred cubits long while resting on a couch on her left side, after having given alms of honey to twelve thousand monks, and breaking off the remaining honey for herself; to drink the water that washed the sword that severed the head of the chief warrior to the twenty great warriors of King Eḷāra, who was ruling in Anurādhapura, and trample his head; and again to wear fresh lotus flowers from the field of lotuses in the Tisā tank of the Demaḷa [Pāli: Damiḷa; English: Tamil] king in Anurādhapura.[6]

King Kāvantis, hearing of the queen's cravings, having the soothsayers brought, asked [about their meaning]. The soothsayers, examining with their knowledge and speaking [perceptively] like one with the Divine Eye, said, "Lord! A son with great merit has taken conception in your queen's womb. Being born after ten and one-half months, coming of age, conquering Laṅkādvīpa in the future, and killing the Demaḷas, he will establish the Dispensation of the Buddha in Lakdiva." The king, who heard those words, having the drum of proclamation beaten in Māgama,

spoke thus. How did he speak? "I will give great wealth to whoever sees a honeycomb that is one hundred cubits in length and tells me," he proclaimed.

Thereupon honeybees on an old ship, which had been overturned off the coast in the shallow ocean, made it into a hive. One person saw that and informed King Kāvantis. The king, reacting with happiness to those words, conducting the queen to that place with great ceremony, erecting and decorating a pavilion there in a fine manner, and arranging the couch, he gave an offering of honey to twelve thousand *arahant*s in order to make the queen eat the honey. Then, having fed the queen the remaining honey, King Kāvantis, who wished to fulfill the other cravings for the queen, summoned the warrior Veḷusumana and ordered him to bring the [objects of her] cravings.

At that time Veḷusumana consented to the king's order, set off from Māgama, and came to Anurādhapura on the same day. Then becoming friends with the horse trainer who cared for the royal horse of the Demaḷa king Eḷāra, doing everything that he was doing, he succeeded in becoming familiar to the horse keeper. One morning, having plucked flowers from the field of blue water lily flowers, hiding the flowers and the sword near the Koḷom River, jumping on the back of the royal horse of King Eḷāra without fear or concern for anyone else nearby, he announced his warrior-name, said "Catch me, clever fellow!" and set off on the horse in haste. The Demaḷa king, who heard that, providing a second horse for the sake of catching Veḷusumana, saying, "Catch him quickly!" gave leave. At that time the Demaḷa warrior Veldeva, venerating the king and taking his leave, jumped on the back of the horse and chased after him in haste.

At that time Veḷusumana, having seen the Demaḷa warrior who came chasing behind him, hiding himself in a jungle, remaining on the back of his horse, holding the sword across the path of the one who was chasing him, and severing his head, putting it on the back of the horse, seizing the horse that had brought him, went to Māgama that evening. At that time King Kāvantis happily fulfilled the cravings of his queen and gave much wealth to Veḷusumana.

Thereupon, at the time when she was due to give birth, the queen gave birth to a noble son with great merit. On that day, because of the prince's merit, seven ships filled with precious objects came and descended onto the shore. Moreover, because of the prince's merit, a she-elephant from the

Chaddanta Lake in Himālaya brought her male white elephant calf, placed him on the shore, and departed.

An angler named Kaḍola who had gone fishing saw the white elephant calf and informed the king. The king, who heard this, sent elephant handlers to bring back the elephant calf and held a protective ceremony for it. That elephant found by the angler Kaḍola was named the elephant Kaḍol. Moreover, on the same day of the prince's birth, a ship filled with gold pots also descended onto shore. The king had that also brought and stored. King Kāvantis, having assembled twelve thousand monks in the ceremony to name his son, thought, "If this son of mine will vanquish the Demaḷas throughout all of Laṅkādvīpa and establish the Dispensation of the Buddha, then let the Thera Gautama clasp the hand of my son. May the venerable one establish him in the Refuges and Precepts." That happened in the very manner that the king thought. The king, happily observing all those omens, gave an offering of milk rice to the Sangha and named his son Gämuṇu. Next, he took his queen and son from the monastery and went to the royal palace. Through union with the queen on the third day after they went to the royal palace, another son was born. He named the son Tissa. Thus the two brothers were brought up with great care. The king gave offerings of milk rice to about five hundred monks in all those ceremonies for the two children.

Again during the ceremony of feeding the princes solid food, having thus invited five hundred venerable ones, taking away the gold dishes at the end of the meal, the king and queen took five hundred lumps of food from those five hundred venerable ones, seated the two children, and spoke, "Children! If you two will do merit in the Dispensation of the Buddha, may this food digest well in your belly." Then they gave it to them. The brothers ate that food as if it was ambrosia. When the two brothers became twelve years old, they tested the children again. Having fed the Great Sangha like before, placing the remaining food in a dish at the end of the meal, seating the two brothers, making three portions of the food in the dish, King Kāvantis spoke thus:

"Say 'We two brothers will not offend the Sangha, which is our family deity [*ḳuladevatā*]' and eat one of these three portions," he said.[7] At that time the two brothers said, "The two of us will always honor the Sangha, Father! We will act in the very manner you have said," and they ate the first portion. Again the king said, "Say, 'We two brothers will not become adversaries' and eat the second portion." Thus having said that, they ate

that portion as if it was ambrosia. Again, concerning the third portion, he said, "Swear, 'We will not make war with the Demaḷas' and eat that." Thus when the king gave the instruction, Prince Tissa dropped the lump of food in his hand on the dish and ran off. Prince Gämuṇu dropped the lump of food he had taken on the dish too, went to his bedchamber, jumped on the bed, and lay down in a ball.

At that time Vihāradēvī, seeing her son who lay down, trembling with sorrow and sighing with an upturned face, said, "Why, dear son! Prince Gämuṇu! Won't you stretch out your hands and feet and lie down on this bed comfortably? Why have you lain down in a ball without speaking?" Prince Gämuṇu replied, "What are you saying? Mother, if there are fierce Demaḷas on the other side of the river, and if the sea on this side is shallow, how can I stretch out my hands and feet and lie down comfortably?" The mother-queen, who heard that and who knew Prince Gämuṇu's intention, did not speak up. Prince Gämuṇu, having grown up in due course, became sixteen years old. That prince, having great merit and arriving at great fame, was endowed with steadfastness, glory, prowess, and valor. He was skilled in arts such as the art of elephants, the art of chariots, the art of the sword, and the art of the bow. That powerful Prince Gämuṇu lived in Māgama.

Thereupon King Kāvantis gave ten men including the warrior Nandimitra to his son, Prince Gämuṇu, for the sake of raising an army. What were the names of those warriors? He handed over to his son, Prince Gämuṇu, the Ten Great Warriors, namely, the warrior Nandimitra, the warrior Suranimala, the warrior Mahāsoṇa, the warrior Goṭhayimbara, the warrior Theraputtābhaya, the warrior Bharaṇa, the warrior Veḷusumana, the warrior Khañjadeva, the warrior Phussadeva, and the warrior Labhiyavasabha. And how should one understand the births of those Ten Great Warriors, their villages and lands, and the merit they did?

Of those Ten Great Warriors, the warrior Nandimitra was the son of the younger sister of King Eḷāra's general named Mitra, who ruled east of Anurādhapura. He was born in a village called Kaḍadora near the Sitpav Mountain east of Anurādhapura. They named the boy Mitra after his maternal uncle. When that boy Mitra was crawling on his knees, the mother became tired of stopping him because the boy was traveling far and exclaimed, "I know what to do to you." Then taking a leather strap, tying it around the waist of the boy, she tied the [other] end of that leather

strap to the grinding stone. Saying, "Mother! Although you try to make me stay, I will not stay," the boy pulled the grinding stone as far as the threshold. Then thinking, "I will go and pull the stone too," when he pulled the stone, the leather strap that was tied to his waist snapped. Because that leather strap snapped, from that day on he became known as Nandimitra.[8] That boy Nandimitra came of age in due course, and would possess the strength of ten elephants. Going to Anurādhapura, he served the general Mitra, who was his maternal uncle.

At that time, in Anurādhapura, the Demaḷas of King Eḷāra would go to the courtyard of the Thūpārāma and the courtyard of the Sacred Bodhi Tree in the morning and afternoon to defecate and urinate.[9] Having seen them, the warrior Nandimitra thought, "It is not proper for a servant to the Triple Gem who has pious confidence like me to watch this and not act." And having gone running, seeing the Demaḷas who were destroying the monastery, seizing them and making them cry out, throwing them down like *bali* figures,[10] shaking them, and pressing their thighs with his right foot, lifting their other foot with his hand, that Nandimitra who had great strength, tore the Demaḷas into two pieces and threw them outside the wall. Seeing the Demaḷas being thrown, the gods thought, "Danger will come to Nandimitra," and they made [those bodies] disappear. Thus when many Demaḷas were being killed, fifty or sixty each day, the ministers noticed the loss of the Demaḷas, went to King Eḷāra, and spoke thus, "Lord! We do not know if they are being eaten by *yakṣa*s and *rākṣasa*s. Nor do we know if they are being eaten by lions and tigers. If they were eaten like this, wouldn't we see their head hair, and so on? What is the reason for this?" they asked the king.

The king, who heard those words, spoke thus. What did he say? "Hiding here and there during the night, seeing those who are causing that harm, seize and bring them before me. I know what should be done to them," he ordered the ministers. At that time the ministers who were investigating the city were unable to capture Nandmitra, who continued killing Demaḷas. One day Nandimitra, who was killing Demaḷas, thought, "If I were to kill the Demaḷas like this to the end of my life, I would not be able to finish killing them. When can I maintain the Buddha's Dispensation while killing Demaḷas in this way?" Again, he thought like this. What did he think? "There are many kings ruling Rūṇa. Doing service to the king who has faith in the Triple Gem, destroying all these Demaḷas who have filled Laṅkādvīpa, and acquiring the

kingdom for that king, I will illumine the Dispensation of the Buddha, which shall remain for five thousand years, along with him." And setting off from Anurādhapura, coming to Māgama in the afternoon, and seeing Prince Gämuṇu, he told this account and resided near the king. Prince Gämuṇu, having discussed it with his mother, showed great honor to the warrior Nandimitra and gave him wealth. From that point on, that warrior Nandimitra resided near the king.

The account of the birth of the warrior Nandimitra ought to be understood thus.

Again, King Kāvantis stationed guards throughout the length of the Māväli River's bank in order to prevent the Demaḷas from crossing the river. The king arranged them and stationed Dīghābhaya, the son of one of his queens, on guard at a place called Kasatoṭa. And Prince Dīghābhaya, saying, "Let one son from each great family in the villages within four *gavu*s of Kasatoṭa stand before me," had them brought.

At that time there were seven sons of a very wealthy householder in a village called Kaḍaviṭi in the Keḷivāra region. The prince heard that the wealthy householder named Saṅgha had seven sons and sent a letter saying, "Please send someone to serve under me." The youngest son of the seven brothers was named Nimala. That boy had the strength of ten elephants. Although he had strength such as that, he did not do any work for his parents. Therefore the other six brothers, regarding the youngest brother Nimala, having said to their parents, "He has never done any work, and he does not even leave the house. Please send that lazy fellow to the prince," displeased their younger brother. Because no matter how many children parents have, they feel great affection for the youngest child, so Nimala's parents did not wish to send him. But the boy Nimala, being angry with his six brothers, setting off from the village Kaḍaviṭi before dawn, traveling twelve *gavu*s [i.e., approximately 20–24 miles] on the road, arriving at Kasātoṭa when the sun was rising, appeared before Prince Dīghābhaya.

The prince saw Nimala and asked, "What time did you speak to your parents and leave the village?" Because he said, "I left before dawn this morning and came," when [the prince] asked, "How many *gavu*s [did you travel]?" and because he said, "Twelve *gavu*s," in order to test his ability to travel, thinking, "It would be good to assign him a distant errand and test his ability to travel," he said, "Go up to my friend the brahmin

Kuṇḍala in the village Dvāramaṇḍala near the Mihintalā rock, give him this message, and bring back the scents such as sandalwood, musk, camphor, aloe, and frankincense that he will give." Then feeding Nimala and giving him the letter, he sent him off to the brahmin.

It was thirty-six *gavu*s from Kasātoṭa to Anurādhapura. Having traveled those thirty-six *gavu*s, reaching the village called Dvāramaṇḍala before noon, and seeing the brahmin, he gave him the letter. The brahmin asked Nimala, "When did you set off?" Nimala said to the brahmin, "I ate food this morning and came." The brahmin who heard those words said, "Amazing! Go to the Tisā Tank, bathe, and hurry back to eat."

Nimala, who heard those words, going to Anurādhapura, bathing in the Tisā Tank, offering flowers to the Sacred Bodhi Tree, going to the courtyard of the Thūpārāma, venerating the Thūpārāma as well, and entering the inner city (where one meets the western gate when one has gone four *gavu*s from the eastern gate, and one meets the northern gate when one has gone four *gavu*s from the southern gate), looking around the entire city, walking through the four gateways, picking up perfumes from the market, and then setting off from the northern gateway, going to the field of water lilies, picking water lily flowers and decorating himself, he went for food to the brahmin's house in time before noon.

The brahmin asked, "Where did you go?" and hearing of his journey, becoming happy and astonished, thought, "This person is an extraordinary man. If King Eḷāra were to know of his power, he would have him brought before him. Therefore it would not be good to let him remain near these Demaḷas. It would be good for him to live near the father of Prince Dīghābhaya." And writing a letter for him to reside near King Kāvantissa, handing it to Nimala, giving gifts that included a pair of robes called *pūrṇavardhana*, feeding him and giving items of perfume for Prince Dīghābhaya, he sent him back. That Nimala saw the prince in that same afternoon.

And again the prince, who saw the letter and gifts carried by him, becoming happy, giving very costly gifts worth one thousand gold coins, cutting the hair of Nimala's head, having him bathed in the Māväli River, giving the pair of robes called *pūrṇavardhana* and the perfumes along with the flowers sent by the brahmin to Nimala himself, draping him in fine cloth, feeding him in the manner that he himself eats, gave him a

very costly couch worth one thousand gold coins. Thereupon Nimala, gathering together all the gifts that were given to him, taking them under his arms, arriving on that very day in the village where his parents were staying, giving the pair of robes to his mother and giving the very costly couch to his father, venerating his mother and father, and taking his leave, he came again that night to the place where he stood guard.

The prince, having heard in the morning of how Nimala had come to stand guard without remaining in the village of his parents, being happy, giving him one thousand gold coins, saying, "Reside near King Kāvantissa," and gave him leave. Nimala, having given those one thousand gold coins to his parents, traveling along the road in just one day, and having gone to Māgama, saw King Kāvantissa. The king, seeing him and becoming happy, giving many gifts to Nimala, announcing him as, "the warrior Suranimala," handed him over to his son Prince Gämuṇu for service. From that point on, he was called Suranimala because he possessed heroic effort.

The account of the birth of the warrior Suranimala ought to be understood in this way.

Again, there were eight sons of a wealthy householder named Tissa in a village named Karaviṭi north of the Malvatu region. The youngest son of the eight was uprooting short palmyra trees as high as his head while he was seven years old. When he was ten years old, he was uprooting large palmyra trees. Growing up in due course, when he was sixteen years old, he had the strength of ten elephants. That one became known as "the warrior Mahāsoṇa." At that time, the king, having heard of his strength, sending much wealth to his parents, having him brought, and saying, "It is not proper for him to reside near me. It is proper for him to reside near my son, Prince Gämuṇu," handed him over to Prince Gämuṇu.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Mahāsoṇa.

Furthermore, in a village called Niṭulviṭi near the Giruvā River in the [region of] Twelve Thousand [villages], a son of a wealthy householder named Mahānāga was referred to as Goṭhaya because he was short.[11] Although people spoke to him like that, he had the strength of ten elephants. His six elder brothers ridiculed the youth, insulting him and laughing while calling him Goṭhaya because he was short.

One day the six brothers, who were working in the paddy fields for the major harvest season, while cutting trees and counting each one, left half for the younger brother. The six of them cut the bottoms of the trees, came home, and said to the younger brother, "Goṭhaya! Don't think you can lie down from now on, just as you have been eating and lying down in the house for this long. We have left a *ķiriya* [of trees] for you and have returned."[12] Goṭhaya, hearing the boastful words of his elder brothers, going to the field, uprooting a grove of *iṁburu* trees as if pulling up a rhubarb plant, building a fence of trunks, leveling the low and high parts of the field, and having come home, told the six brothers who had boasted to him [about his deeds]. The six brothers heard that account, looked at each other's faces, and said, "Not allowing Goṭhaya to remain eating and sitting in the house, we sent him to work. Let us see the work he did." Then going to the field, the six brothers saw the incredible work done by Goṭhaya and became astonished.

From that point on, Goṭhaya was known as "the warrior Goṭhayimbara" because he uprooted the *iṁburu* trees. King Kāvantissa, having heard of Goṭhayimbara's strength, sending gifts to both his parents, having sent for Goṭhayimbara, handed him over to Prince Gämuṇu.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Goṭhayimbara.

Again, when a son of a wealthy householder named Rōhaṇa was born in the village of Käti near Koṭagala in Ruhuṇu, they named the boy Abā after the name of the king named Goṭhābhaya. When that boy was twelve years old, he had great power. Lifting up a circular stone, which four or five people could not move, as if it was a playing ball, he threw it without effort. When he was sixteen years old, having taken an iron club with a circumference of thirty-eight inches and a length of twelve carpenter's cubits that his father made and gave to him,[13] he would strike and fell palmyra and coconut trees with the iron club. Therefore he was known as the warrior Goṭhābhaya. Again, the householder Rōhaṇa, who was the father of that son named Abā, having heard a sermon from the Thera Mahāsumma, arriving at the Fruit of the Stream-enterer, and thinking on the Keḷa Rock, "I will be ordained as a monk by the Thera Summa," gave up the household life, sent word to King Kāvantissa requesting permission, and having become a monk, practiced meditation and became an *arahant*. Therefore, that son who was named Abhaya after the king became known as Theraputtābhaya because his father had become a monk.

King Kāvantissa, having heard about the warrior Theraputtābhaya, sent for him and handed him over to his son Prince Gämuṇu.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Theraputtābhaya.

Again, in the village called Kapkaňduru, a boy named Bharaṇa was born as the son of a wealthy householder named Kumāra. When that Bharaṇa was twelve years old, he was endowed with strength and speed. While walking in the forest along with youths, he chased down hares, struck them with his foot, and killed them. Likewise when he was twelve years old, he went to the forest along with the villagers, chased down deer and stags, grabbed their lower legs, struck them on the ground with his strength, and killed them. Because he had strength like this, he was known as the warrior Mahābharaṇa. Thereupon King Kāvantissa, having heard of his strength, sent riches to his parents, and had him brought and handed over to Prince Gämuṇu.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Mahābharaṇa.

Again, a son of a wealthy householder named Vasabha was born in a village named Keḷeṁbiyaňgana in the Girinil province. In that province, in a village named Veḷu, the wealthy householder named Veḷu and the chief of the district named Sumana lived as mutual friends. The friend Sumana, hearing that a son of his friend Vasabha was born, came to his friend's village having brought many provisions. Then seeing the son who had been born to his friend, combining his name Sumana with his friend's name Veḷu and naming him Veḷusumana, brought him back to his village. Thereupon Veḷusumana came of age and obtained great fame.

At that time, there was a Sindh horse that did not allow anyone to climb on its back. Then that Sindh horse saw Veḷusumana and thought, "A warrior is fit to climb on my back." He became pleased and looked at the face of Veḷusumana. The uncle saw that and said, "Son! Veḷusumana! Climb on the back of this horse," and he gave the horse to Veḷusumana. At that time Veḷusumana jumped on the back of the horse and made the horse run. And how fast did the horse run? It was like a ring of horses encircled by horses. Again, making the horse run thus, straightening the horse out, standing on the back of the galloping horse, and not having even a small doubt toward him, he loosened the robes in which he was dressed fold by fold while the horse was galloping. Again, he put it on fold by fold. Many people saw that and let out cries of joy. At that

time the uncle of Veḷusumana, having seen his ability, becoming pleased, giving ten thousand gold coins to him, decided it was not proper for him to reside near himself or to reside near his friend. Taking him and going to Māgama, he handed him over to King Kāvantissa. King Kāvantissa gave him much wealth and retained Veḷusumana near himself.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Veḷusumana.

Furthermore, a son of a wealthy householder named Abhaya was born in a village named Mīdeṇi near the Añjani Mountain. Because the son who was born was slightly crippled, he became known by the name Khañjadeva.[14] Khañjadeva, having great strength, went with the villagers to a deer grove in a forest, and seeing wild buffaloes running in the forest, he grabbed their lower legs, twirled them around his head, smashed them against the ground, and shattered their bones. King Kāvantissa heard of his strength, sent wealth to the parents, had him brought, and handed him over to Prince Gämuṇu.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Khañjadeva.

Furthermore, in a village called Goḍigamuva near the Cittala Mountain, a son named Phussa was born to a householder named Utpala. That son, going to the monastery along with [other] youths, grasping the conch that was kept in the monastery for the sake of [making] offerings to the Bodhi Tree, blew it. The sound of the conch that he blew spread out like hundreds of thunderbolts that struck. The young children who heard that, becoming afraid, fell flat on their faces. From that point on, he became known as Unmāda Phussadeva.[15]

Thereupon the father of Phussadeva taught him the art of archery. That boy, shooting by [the sense of] sound,[16] having shot a cart filled with sand, drove the arrow right through. Having shot a cart of hides that was made from hides [itself], and planks of *piyā* wood that were eight inches thick and planks of *diṁbul* wood that were sixteen inches thick, drove the arrow right through. Having shot an iron plate that was four inches thick, he drove it through from one side to the other side. An arrow he released would travel eight *isba*s over land.[17] It would travel an *isba* under water. King Kāvantissa heard of his skill in archery, gave much wealth to his parents, had him brought, and handed him over to his son Prince Gämuṇu.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Unmāda Phussadeva.

Furthermore, a son named Vasabha was born to a householder named Matta in the village Veravā near the Taral Mountain. Because that Vasabha had a fine body, he was known as, Labhiyavasabha. That Labhiyavasabha became twenty years old. He had the strength of ten elephants. Taking a few men along to build a large tank, raising up earth with a hoe that could not be lifted by twenty or thirty people, he finished building the tank. King Kāvantissa heard of that Labhiyavasabha's strength, sent wealth to his parents, had him brought, and handed him over to his son Prince Gämuṇu.

This is the account of the birth of the warrior Labhiyavasabha.

Of these ten warriors, the warrior Nandimitra, having been born in a noble, wealthy household at the time of Kōṇāgamana Buddha, who became a Buddha in this eon, saw many people who were serenely joyful and were giving great offerings to the Sangha. And he too, wishing to give alms to a monk, giving three coins, bringing deer meat, preparing a meal with fragrant and perfumed *sahal* rice, giving the offering to an *arahant*, and passing away from that existence, having been reborn in the divine world, enjoying prosperity for an endless period, and again having been born in the human world at the time of Kāśyapa Buddha, enjoyed prosperity for twenty thousand years. At that time, he gave a ticket meal [*lā batak*] with milk rice to the Sangha.[18] Because of that gift of alms he gave, having passed away from that existence, being reborn in the divine world, experiencing prosperity for an endless period, again having passed away from the divine world, he was reborn with strength like this.

What merit did the warrior Suranimala do? In the time of Kāśyapa Buddha, who became a Buddha prior to the current Buddha-interval, having been born in a family with endless wealth, doing acts of merit conducive to developing strength, such as [giving] milk-rice, a garment of tree bark, a stove, and blankets to cover oneself in the cold season, having been reborn in the divine world, enjoying prosperity [there], he became endowed with strength like this in this birth.

It ought to be understood that the other warriors, each having done acts of merit conducive to developing their strength, were born with strength like this.[19]

King Kāvantissa, giving wealth, soldiers, and vehicles along with the required hospitality to the Ten Great Warriors and to his son, handed the Ten

Great Warriors over to Prince Gämuṇu. He sent the second son [Prince Tissa] to Digāmaḍulla in order to guard the country. Prince Gämuṇu, seeing his endless army of foot soldiers, thinking, "It would be good to take this army along and make war with the Demaḷas," sent word [to the king], "Father, it would be good to make war with the Demaḷas." The king, thinking with grief, "My son might perish in battle," and in order to protect him, forbade him [from making war], saying, "We do not have any reason for battle on this side of the river." Because of his strong desire to make war, Prince Gämuṇu sent word to his father three times. Because he could not get his consent, he sent word to his father a fourth time, saying, "If my father was a man, he would not be forbidding me and speaking thus. Is it because he is a woman that he is speaking like this? From this day on he shall not wear male ornaments such as the single string of beads, the sacrificial thread, the waist chain, and the golden earring. Indeed, he shall wear female ornaments such as the toe-ring, the ankle bracelet, the jeweled corset, the foot ornament, and the necklace," and thus speaking, he sent them to his father.

Having seen that, King Kāvantissa became angry with Prince Gämuṇu and said, "I will not be able to protect my son apart from chaining and binding him with gold chains." Prince Gämuṇu heard those words, became angry, and ran off to Kotmala in the Māyā country without telling his father. Because he left angrily and wickedly without telling his father, he became known as Duṣṭagāmiṇī.[20]

King Kāvantissa thought, "If there is a quarrel between my two children out of greed for prosperity and the country when I am gone, one would die if the Ten Great Warriors were aligned with [the other] one. It would be good to make the Ten Great Warriors swear not to side with one [of them] during battle." Then he made the Ten Great Warriors swear [to this]. King Kāvantissa, having built sixty-four monasteries and having been adorned with sixty-four crowns, died after sixty-four years [of rule].[21] Prince Tissa, hearing that his father had died, coming from Dīgāmaḍulu, having his father cremated and having the cremation ground cleared, taking his mother Vihāradēvī, the elephant Kaḍol, and the wealth without sending word to his brother that their father had died, [but] not having adorned the crown out of fear of his brother, went up to Dīgāmaḍulu [Pāli: Dīghavāpi]. The ministers who remained in Māgama sent word to Prince Gämuṇu of that fact. The prince, having read the message, lamenting and weeping out of grief since his father had died,

and setting off from Kotmala in the morning, came and entered Buthala before noon.

Thereupon, sending a letter to his younger brother Prince Tissa in Dīgāmaḍulu, [telling him] to come, going to Māgama, but not adorning the crown, sending letters three times to send their mother and the elephant Kaḍol [back], and because the younger brother did not send them in accordance with the three letters that he sent, Prince Gämuṇu said, "This time I will go," and he set off for battle with his army. And Prince Tissa, without stopping to think, "Isn't he my brother? Isn't there a family relation? Isn't he the chief king?" and being accompanied by his army, climbed upon the back of the elephant Kaḍol and set off prepared for battle. On the battlefield, the battle of the two brothers commenced. Because the Ten Great Warriors swore an oath to the king earlier, saying, "If there is a battle between the two brothers, we will not be aligned with either one," they did not participate in the battle between the two brothers. On that day several thousands from the army of King Duṭugämuṇu fell dead in battle. King Duṭugämuṇu, having been defeated in the battle against his younger brother, taking only a minister named Tissa and a mare named Dīghatūnikā, broke off and fled. Prince Tissa, taking his army behind his brother who broke off and fled, said, "Hey! Give chase quickly!" The *arahant*s created a stone mountain across [the path] where the army was quickly chasing him and blocked the army. Prince Tissa, seeing that stone mountain, realizing that "The *arahant*s have done this," rose up and went back to Dīgamaḍulu with his army.

King Duṭugämuṇu, having broken away and fled, going to a bathing ford at a river named Kapkaduru, asked his minister, "Brother! Tissa! There is no affliction greater than hunger. Do you have any food?" The minister Tissa said, "Lord, I have food that I brought in a gold dish. Please finish the food." Then bringing over the food in the gold dish, he gave it to the king. At that time the king saw the food, realized what time it was, and thought, "I will not eat this food without [first] giving alms to the Sangha." Then directing [his minister], "Tissa! Announce that it is time for the Sangha to come and receive alms," and taking up that food in his hand, he divided it, making four portions to give alms to the Sangha, himself, his minister, and the mare.

At that time the Mahāthera Kuṭumbiyatissa in the Puvaňgu Island, having heard that cry with his Divine Ear, having come by means of psychic powers, appeared in front of the king. The king offered his food

to the *thera*. At that time the minister Tissa, thinking, "Will I enjoy this food while the king remains hungry?" also gave the food he received as alms. At that time the mare, also wishing to give the portion of food that she received, looked at the face of the king. The minister, ascertaining her intention [*abhiprāya*], gave her portion of food as alms also. The *thera*, having lowered and accepted the bowl, rising up into the sky, proceeding to Puvaňgu Island, gave it to the Thera Gotama. The Thera Gotama, eating that food along with five hundred venerable ones, taking a morsel of food from each monk, filling the bowl, made a resolution saying, "May this bowl of food go by air and land in front of the king so that he can stretch out his hand and grab it."

At that time, the minister Tissa, having seen the bowl that came and appeared before them, taking the bowl, feeding the food to the king, and having eaten the food himself, fed food also to the mare. Thereupon the king, washing the bowl and drying the water, making a pad of his armor in which he was wrapped, placing the bowl on top of that, thought, "May this bowl be established in the hands of the *thera*." Along with the king's thought, the bowl went away by air and was established in the hands of the *thera*.

The king having eaten the food, resting at the side of the river, returning to Māgama and assembling an army, taking a host of sixty thousand, made war with his younger brother again. During the battle that was fought on that day, many thousands in the army of Prince Tissa were killed. King Duṭugämuṇu, seeing the army that was being killed in battle, thought, "I will fight a battle against the Demaḷas in the future. How can I triumph in battle when the army is destroyed?" And while making war with his younger brother, he sent word to Prince Tissa, who was seated on the back of the elephant Kaḍol, saying, "Come [surrender] to me without making war and destroying the army." Prince Tissa who heard those words became angry with his brother, took up a spear, and charged the elephant to the fore.

At that time King Duṭugämuṇu thought, "Prince Tissa does not approach me with a good intention." Then leaping on the back of the mare Dīghatūṇikā, holding his sword firmly, deflecting the spear that was thrown by the younger king, made the mare run and jump over the elephant and the head of the younger brother who was seated on its back. At that time, having made the mare jump, he struck the back of the younger brother's armor with the dull edge of his sword. Then the

elephant Kaḍol thought, "Isn't it because of the unmanliness of Prince Tissa, who is seated on my back, that the manly king caused the female mare to jump over my head?" Then becoming angry, it shook the prince who was seated on his back and made him climb into a tree. The elephant Kaḍol also came and looked at King Gämuṇu [out of respect].

Seeing Prince Tissa descending from the tree and running toward a monastery, King Gämuṇu, taking his army and saying, "Bring Tissa without killing him," made them give chase. That prince who was running entered the monastery, venerated the feet of the *thera*, and said, "Reverend! Please protect your servant." And being unable to remain in the middle of the dwelling, he hid under the *thera*'s bed out of fear of his brother. At that time, the *thera* covered the bed with robes so that the prince was not visible under the bed. King Duṭugämuṇu, having come following behind, stationed the army surrounding the monastery, came into the monastery, venerated the feet of the *thera*, and asked, "Where is Tissa, Reverend?" The *thera* said to the king, "Lord! Tissa is not on the bed."[22] The king, thinking, "I too am aware that Tissa is not on the bed. Nevertheless it is not fitting for servants of the Triple Gem like me to interrogate our family deity, is it?" and again having venerated at his feet, asking for permission [to leave], he set off from that place, stationed a strong watch surrounding the monastery, and stood guard at the gateway himself. At that time the *thera*, putting the prince on a bed and covering him in a yellow robe, sent the prince out from the monastery with four young monks [who carried him] as if they were carrying an honored monk who had died.

At that time, having seen him being carried by the shoulders of the venerable ones, King Duṭugämuṇu spoke thus, "Hey! Are servants like you, Tissa, carried by the shoulders of Dear Lords [*svāmidaruvan*], who are our family deity?" And he thought, "It is not proper for servants of the Triple Gem like me who are serenely joyful in the Dispensation of the Buddha to snatch something forcefully out of the hands of Dear Lords." Then saying, "Tissa! Remember in the future the assistance the Dear Lords have given you," and taking his army, he returned to Māgama. The king thought, "If I bring my mother to Māgama now, it will seem like I brought her by force. That will be disgraceful according to those who see or hear of it in the future," and having gone to Māgama himself, he had his mother who was in Digāmaṅḍulu brought reverently with great ceremony.

Thereupon Prince Tissa, going before a *thera* named Gotama, venerating and standing at one side, announced thus, "Reverend! I have done many offences to my brother. Therefore I am unable to go see him. Reverend, taking me along and presenting me [to him], please have me pardoned." At that time Gotama Thera, who heard those words, being accompanied by about five hundred of the Great Sangha, taking Prince Tissa to Māgama, coming to the royal palace and leaving the prince at the base of the stairs, went before the king accompanied by the five hundred monks.

The king, venerating the five hundred monks including the *thera*, seating them and washing their feet, brought forth meals of gruel and rice to eat. The *thera* covered the mouth of the bowl with the lid of the bowl.[23] When the king asked, "Why, Reverend?" he replied, "Great King! We have come in order to present Prince Tissa." Then the king said, "Reverend! Where is Tissa?" The *thera* said, "We have left Tissa at the bottom of the stairs." At that time Vihāradēvī, hearing those words, going quickly and seeing her son who was at the bottom of the stairs, cried and wept. King Duṭugämuṇu, while informing the *thera*, said, "Reverend! Is it because [you think] my support for the monks is lacking that you come with this many of the Sangha after having sent him by seven-year-old novices to your servant without saying so?"

And the king again announced to the *thera*, "Reverend! Had you given this advice at the beginning, the army numbering many thousands would not have been destroyed, would it? It is not the fault of the servants, it is indeed the fault of the Dear Lords." Then having his younger brother brought, embracing his brother in the middle of the Great Sangha, and remembering the virtue of their father, crying and weeping, washing his hair and bathing, eating food, venerating and honoring the Great Sangha, walking behind them respectfully, and taking his leave, he came back to the palace. From then on, King Duṭugämuṇu, ordering everyone to cultivate crops, sending his younger brother Prince Tissa to Digāmaṅḍulu, ordering him to have an abundance of crops cultivated, and giving him leave for the sake of protecting the country, he himself had an abundance of crops cultivated in Māgama.

9

THE VICTORY OF KING DUṬUGÄMUṆU

Thereupon the king, winning the minds of the army with gifts of gold, silk, and cloth, fitting a relic onto the royal victory spear [*jayakuntaya*], adorning himself like Śakra, king of the gods, went with his army to Tissamahārāma, venerated the Sangha, and announced, "Reverends! I will go to the other side of the Māväli River in order to revive the Buddha's Dispensation. Please contribute monks to come along with me, so that I may venerate and make offerings [to them]." The Sangha gave five hundred monks. King Duṭugämuṇu, taking the monks along, ascended upon the elephant Kaḍol, invited along his mother Vihāradēvī, and set off from Māgama with great splendor and ceremony, accompanied by the Ten Great Warriors including Nandimitra and a large body of troops. Then he came to Kaḷuvaḷa and took lodging there.[1] The king set off from there and took lodging next in Ēhala. Resting in Ēhala, having venerated, made offerings, and given alms to the Sangha, he took lodging in Gīkitta, having come in a ceremonial procession [*perahara*] accompanied by the army. The king set off from there, and then took lodging in Guttala. Having set off from there, he took lodging in Kirigama. The king, who set off from Kirigama, took lodging in Niyamulla. Having set off from that place, he took lodging in Mädagamuyantoṭa. Having set off from Mädagamuyantoṭa, he took lodging next in Tangamkasaṭapiṭiya.

How large was the army that banded together there, having put on armor and prepared themeselves to strike, to stab, and to shoot? The army was four *gavu*s [or nearly eight miles] from its eastern edge to its western edge when standing shoulder to shoulder. At that time, the king saw the line of troops and thought, "This army is barely a few people [when compared] to the large size of the Demaḷa army. Won't the gods certainly assist me if I have unshakeable confidence in the Buddha's Dispensation and if I continually aspire to vanquish the Demaḷas and to restore the Dispensation and the monasteries that were destroyed?" And having slept that night, in the morning, venerating and making offerings to the relic [kept in the royal spear], and giving alms to the five hundred *arahant*s, the king, ate, drank, and readied himself. Then having the army, including the Ten Great Warriors, fed and given drink, he gave gifts to the army, which was dressed and adorned in silken cloth and headbands.

And while having hundreds and thousands of drums beaten, such as *gäṭabera*, *paṇābera*, *ekäsbera*, *mihiňgubera*, *maddala*, *paṭaha*, *lohobera*, *yuvaḷabera*, *mahabera*, *dädurubera*, *rōdabera*, *karaňḍibera*, *ghoṣabera*, *talappara*, *virandaṁ*, *tammäṭṭa*, *nisāna*, *raṇaraňgaghoṣa*, *samudraghoṣa*, *anukkattuli davul*, *morasu, mallari*, *sirivili*, *tappu*, *tatsara*, *ḍäkki*, *uḍäkki*, *maňḍala*, *nāgasara*, *uccabhayāṅgi*, *kombu*, *daḷahaṁ*, *sakuṇaviridu*, *sūraṇakāladaṁ*, *dārā*, *daḷahaṁ*, *lōhaṁ*,[2] *sinnaṁ*, *kintara*, *kayitālaṁ*, *sammuttālaṁ*, *gītālaṁ paṭaha*, *ḍamaru*, and *ḍiṇḍimadhavani*, and while these types of horns, *sakśinnaṁ*, *ransinnaṁ*, *ridīsinnaṁ*, *ruvansinnaṁ*, *randārā*, *ridīdārā*, *daḷahaṁ*, *lōhaṁ*, *gavarahaṁ*, *vijayoddhavani*, *ottu*, *tantiri*, and *paṭasiri* were playing with a great tumult like the sound of the ocean near the Yugandhara Mountain, the great army accompanying the king like a host of gods that accompanied Śakra, king of the gods, when he set off for the city of the *asura*s, having set off from Tungaṁkasaṭapiṭiya, went to Miyuňguṇu [Pāli: Mahiyaṅgaṇa], fought with the Demaḷa Putra, killed him, threw him in the river, and built a "mantle relic shrine" [*kasu dāgabak*] in Miyuňguṇu.

This is the chronological account to describe how they built that relic shrine in Miyuňguṇu. How did it happen?

Our Buddha came to this Laṅkā on the full moon day of Durutu nine months after he became a Buddha. Coming to a place where an assembly of *yakśa*s were in a park called Mahānāgavana, which had a length of twelve *gavu*s and a width of four *gavu*s on the bank of the Mahaväli River, remaining in the air over the heads of those *yakśa*s where the Miyuňguṇu

relic shrine would be established [in the future], creating rain, winds, and thick darkness, he produced fear in the *yakṣa*s. Then when he was addressed by those *yakṣa*s, "Please give us freedom from fear, Lord," he declared, "As for me, I will give you freedom from fear. Let all of you together give a place for me to sit." Those *yakṣa*s said, "Lord! All of us together will give you this entire Laṅkādvīpa. Sir, may you please give us freedom from fear."

Thereupon the Buddha, having dispelled the fear that had come over them, spreading out a piece of leather on the ground, which they all gave, was seated on the piece of leather. Then entering into the meditative attainment with the object of fire [*tejo ḳasiṇa*], he made a resolution, "May the flames of fire shoot off from all sides of the piece of leather." At that time, the *yakṣa*s, seeing the flames of the fire, became terrified by the fear of death and gathered at the ocean shore. Thereupon the Buddha, who is comparable to the incomparable and who is without equal, created an island called Giridivayina with his psychic powers, brought that island over, had the *yakṣa*s ascend it, put that island back in its place, and folded up the piece of leather. At that time there was an assembly of deities there. The Buddha delivered a sermon to that assembly of deities. Then the deities, who numbered many crores, heard that sermon and were established in the Refuges and Precepts. Innumerable gods became Stream-enterers.

On the Samantakūṭa Mountain the majestic god Mahāsumana,[3] having obtained the fruit of the Stream-Enterer, and venerating the resplendent feet of the Omniscient One, asked for an object from the Buddha in order to venerate and make offerings. At that time the Omniscient One, who benefits all beings, stroked his head with his resplendent right hand and gave a handful of Hair Relics to the majestic god. That majestic god Sumana received those Hair Relics in an excellent gold casket, established it where the Buddha had sat, made offerings to those Hair Relics with a heap of the seven precious materials that was seven cubits in height, and built a relic shrine made of blue sapphire gems.

Again, when the Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, a *thera* named Sarabhū who was the pupil of the Mahāthera Säriyut [Pāli: Sāriputta], the Dharma General, took the Neckbone Relic even before the fire on the funeral pyre was extinguished, came with the Great Sangha, deposited the relic in that Miyuŏguṇu Relic Shrine, covered it, and made a mantle relic shrine with fat-colored stones twelve cubits high.[4]

Thereupon King Cūlābhaya, who was the younger brother of King Devanapāātissa, having seen that wondrous relic shrine, built [up] the relic shrine to be thirty cubits high. Now this King Duṭugämuṇu, having come, killing the Demaḷas there and putting them in the river, built a relic shrine eighty cubits high. Thus even those with wisdom, who do battle quickly, who are mines of virtues, and who have fear of *saṃsāra*, performed acts of merit and experienced happiness in the world of the gods. Therefore all of you should always do merit without delay.

The Account of the Miyuŋguṇu Relic Shrine is finished.

Thereupon King Gämuṇu set off from Miyuŋguṇu, went to Aṁbaṭuva, and vanquished the Demaḷa Aṁbaṭu after four months. And having set off from that city, being accompanied by the great army, surrounding the fort of the seven brothers, who had great strength, vanquishing the army of many Demaḷas, which included the seven Demaḷa brothers, in just one day, he gave gifts of gold and won the favor of his army. Having set off from there, going to Äturoba, doing battle with and killing the Demaḷa Mahatuṇḍa, and [then] going to Denagaṁ, he vanquished the Demaḷa Gavara. And having set off from there, ascending onto the back of the elephant Kaḍol, being accompanied by the great army of soldiers, he went to the city Mahākōla while sporting and laughing. Then doing battle with and vanquishing the Demaḷa Mahissariya Tissa on the road leading to that city, then vanquishing the Demaḷa Nāḷiya at Polvatta, he went to Dīghābhayagalla, where he vanquished the Demaḷa Dīghābhaya. Then having set off from there, doing battle with and vanquishing the Demaḷa Kiñcīsīsa, who was residing in Kasātoṭa, after four months, setting off from there, vanquishing the Demaḷa Veṭha in the city named Veṭha, fighting the Demaḷa Bhāṇaka in the village named Bhāṇaka, and the Demaḷa Veṭhaka in the village named Veṭhaka, and the Demaḷa Gāmaṇi in the village named Gāmaṇi, and the Demaḷa Kuṁba in the village named Kuṁba, and the Demaḷa Nandika in the village named Nandika, and the Demaḷa Khāṇuka in the village named Khāṇuka, and the Demaḷa uncle and nephew named Taṁba and Unna in the village Taṁbunna, and thus having killed many Demaḷas, he set off. And while they were fighting the Demaḷas in Daṁbunnaruya, [since his army was] thinking, "The whole army is the enemy" because they were dressed the same, upon hearing that his army was not able to distinguish themselves from [the

Demaḷas] and were killing each other, King Duṭugämuṇu made an act of truth on that battlefield. How was that?

"Never will I fight for the comforts of kingship. It is for the sake of establishing the Dispensation of the Fully Awakened Buddha, which will remain for five thousand years. If I always have such an intention, may the clothes worn by my army, the ornaments they adorn, and the shields they have taken up blaze and shine. May it not be the same way for the Demaḷas"; he thus made the act of truth. At that time that king's act of truth happened in that very manner. Then destroying the city in that way, he gave gifts of gold to his army. King Duṭugämuṇu, being accompanied by the great army that included the Ten Great Warriors, cleared all the Demaḷa camps beginning from the bank of the river and set off toward Vijitapura. Thereupon all the Demaḷas who escaped from every city that had been destroyed came and gathered in Vijitapura, which had great strength.

At that time King Duṭugämuṇu set up camp near Vijitapura, wishing to take that city. Then having his elephant Kaḍol drink toddy, speaking words to anger him, pounding stones on top of his toenails,[5] sounding drums and horns, sent the elephant off toward the warrior Nandimitra, who was coming to see him, in order to test the strength of the Ten Great Warriors.

At that moment the elephant Kaḍol, fierce like a column of fire in the Avīci hell that exited the Mare's Mouth and burned the water in the ocean, making the great earth resound like a metal dish struck by an iron bar, making it rumble from his trumpeting, and at the moment in which he yanked his foot angrily, shattering the iron chain that bound him as if breaking a spider's thread, having overturned the post to which he was tied as if pulling up a lotus stalk, stomping and breaking it into pieces, striking and pulverizing the elephant stable, having rolled up the broken post, placing it between his tusks, and splitting the earth by stomping at his own shadow, running and chasing people down, and while lifting and piercing the corpses that he split in two on the tips of his tusks, chasing down cattle and buffalo with a blood-smeared face and the bloody tips of his tusks, piercing and splitting them in two, and while causing the eyes of those who were looking to shut because of their entrails, putting his trunk in his mouth out of anger, shaking his head and roaring, entered upon the main road.[6]

At that time the warrior Nandimitra, seeing the army running here and there out of fear of the elephant, thought, "Because this elephant Kaḍol was born into the Chaddanta breed, he possesses the strength of one hundred crores of elephants compared to the [normal] Kālāvaka elephant. Having seen the elephant like that, it would not be proper for warriors like me to let my hair fall down my back and run. Now, majestic elephant! I know what to do to you." Then folding his left hand and clapping with his right hand, shouting loudly, pulling the trunk of the elephant who came charging and putting it on top of his shoulders, taking the two tusks firmly with his hands, he caused him to sit back on his haunches. At that time King Duṭugämuṇu became very pleased. The great army too, while being pleased, thinking, "The manly strength and valor of Nandimitra is marvelous," let out a great cheer.

King Duṭugämuṇu, thinking, "I have tested the strength of Nandimitra and have no doubt about the battle at Vijitapura," and making the army don their armor, he urged them on. Thereupon the warriors and the Demaḷas battled at the south gate. At the east gate, the warrior Veḷusumana leapt upon the back of a horse and killed many Demaḷas. Then the Demaḷas threw down their weapons out of fear of the warrior Veḷusumana, went into the inner city, closed the gates, released the door-bolts, climbed up into the watchtowers, and remained there. Thereupon while giving orders to the warriors, King Gämuṇu sent the elephant Kaḍol, Nandimitra, and Suranimala into battle at the south gate. He ordered the warriors Mahāsoṇa, Goṭhayimbara, and Theraputtābhaya into battle at the north gate.

What was that city of Vijitapura like? It was endowed with three moats. It had a strong metal wall that was eighteen cubits in height, with wide gates, and with iron doors. At that time the elephant Kaḍol, having run up, pressing his two front knees on the ground, breaking the bricks in the wall, went over to the iron door. At that time the Demaḷas who were above it struck the elephant with various kinds of weapons. And [as he was] thus unchecked, they threw red-hot iron balls on the one who was breaking [the iron door]. Then they poured heated dross onto the elephant's back. At that time the elephant Kaḍol, being afflicted with pain and sounding a great cry, went and plunged into the moat. Then seeing the elephant who had plunged into the water, the warrior Goṭhayimbara went up to the side of the elephant and said, "It is not like the toddy you've been drinking these days. Don't stay here thinking that

breaking the gate of these Demaḷas is a difficult thing to do. Go on and break down the iron door." The elephant, who heard those words, making a trumpeting sound from the pride that arose [in him], climbed out of the water on to the land. Thereupon the elephant doctors cleaned the dross that adhered to the back of the elephant and applied medicine.

King Gämuṇu ascended upon the back of the elephant, rubbed its frontal globes with his hand, and said, "Majestic elephant, born on the same day that I was born because of my merit, I will give you sovereignty over this entire Lakdiva." And having thus spoken pleasing speech, making the elephant happy, feeding the elephant with the food set up for a noble king, covering the wound on his back with cloth, spreading one hundred pieces of buffalo hide on top of that, tying oiled hides on top of that, he prepared him to break down the door. At that time that majestic elephant, roaring like thunder and terrifying the Demaḷas in the inner city, charged, punctured, and demolished the iron door with his tusks. At that time the warrior Nandimitra, who had great strength and who saw door and the door frame falling down on the elephant's back like a trap, thought, "If the elephant, who is the royal vehicle of my king, is destroyed, it would be a [great] loss." Then having struck it with his own shoulder, he threw it about an *isbaḳ*.[7]

On that day, the elephant Kaḍol abandoned his enmity toward Nandimitra, who had taken his two tusks and caused him to sit upright on the ground. At that time the elephant Kaḍol looked at Nandimitra to have him climb on his back. Then the warrior Nandimitra, saying, "Why would I enter on the path made by an animal?" and striking the metal wall that was eighteen cubits high with his shoulder, breaking and casting aside a piece of the wall measuring about eight *isbaḳ*s, looked at the warrior Suranimala. At that time these Ten Great Warriors, namely, the warrior Suranimala, the warrior Theraputtābhaya, the warrior Veḷusumana, the warrior Bharaṇa, the warrior Khañjadeva, the warrior Phussadeva, the warrior Mahāsoṇa, the warrior Goṭhayimbara, and the warrior Labhiyavasabha, each broke open spaces about eight *isbaḳ*s [wide] and entered through the opening that they themselves had made.

At that time the elephant Kaḍol took up a carriage wheel and beat the Demaḷas. Nandimitra took hold of a carriage frame and beat them. The warrior Goṭhayimbara broke off a coconut tree for himself and beat them. The warrior Suranimala took up an excellent sword and cut them. The warrior Mahasona broke off a palm tree for himself and beat them.

The warrior Theraputtābhaya took up an iron club and beat them. Therefore it has been said:

> The elephant, having taken up the wheel of a carriage; Mitta, the frame of a wagon;
> Goṭha, a coconut tree; Nimmala, an excellent sword;
> Mahāsoṇa, a palm tree; Theraputta, a great iron bar;
> And they who went into streets individually, crushed the Damiḷas there.[8]

Thus conquering Vijitapura after four months, having killed many Demaḷas there, and setting off from there, saying, "Let us take the city of Girinil," and preparing [for battle], going to the city of Girinil, he entered it and killed the Demaḷas in Girinil. Then setting off from there, going to the city of Mānel and doing battle with the Demaḷa [chief] at Mānel, he conquered that Demaḷa after four months. Then setting off from there, King Duṭugämuṇu, giving gifts of gold to the army, venerating and honoring the five hundred *arahant*s, and accompanied by the great army, ascended upon the elephant Kaḍol, crossed Elillankaḍa, and set off for the battle in Anurādhapura while sporting and laughing in the road. Then setting up camp and building a tank there in the month of Poson along with his army, he began to play water sports with great ceremony.

At that time King Eḷāra, hearing that King Duṭugämuṇu had arrived, while consulting with his ministers, asked, "Why, Ministers! Isn't it for a time such as this that you advise me? King Duṭugämuṇu, having routed every Demaḷa fortress beginning from Miyuŋguṇu, saying he will now take the city where we are, and having made preparations, he has set up camp in a place called Kasāgalu. How will we do battle with that king?" The ministers who heard those words assured him by saying, "Surrounded by ministers like us, Sir, and having examined this world with intelligence and having mastered whatever there is to be done, may you fight tomorrow without any hesitation." King Eḷāra, who heard that speech, winning the favor of the large Demaḷa army, led by twenty great warriors including the warrior Dīghajattuka, giving gifts of gold and jewels, sent a letter to King Duṭugämuṇu saying, "Having come to do battle, why do you remain there? Come to battle immediately!"

King Duṭugämuṇu heard those words and sent a letter saying, "Is it necessary to send word? We are coming. Be ready for battle tomorrow!"

Then calling his Ten Great Warriors including Nandimitra to him, saying, "It will not be like the battles we have fought up till now. How will we do battle tomorrow with King Eḷāra, whose great army is like the army of Māra, and who is accompanied by twenty great warriors who are the leaders of the thirty-two Demaḷa fortresses?" he asked. The Ten Great Warriors said, "Lord! Leaving aside Eḷāra's one army, even if the entire army of Daṁbadiva were to come, they would not be able to vanquish the ten of us.[9] Please do not worry," and King Duṭugämuṇu, having heard those words with happiness, giving gifts to the army, donned his armor and set off to battle.

King Eḷāra, hearing the news that King Duṭugämuṇu had come, donning armor the next day, ascended upon the back of the elephant Mahāparvata and came accompanied by a great army of Demaḷas. At that time King Duṭugämuṇu consulted with his mother Vihāramahādēvī and had thirty-two fortresses built on her advice in order to [check] the warrior Dīghajattu. Then raising white parasols, and making thirty-two replicas of the king from the core of *ḳihiri* wood and decorated with all the ornaments, set them up [in each fortress], while the king himself remained in the thirty-second great fortress. Thereupon while the two armies were fighting, the warrior of King Eḷāra named Dīghajattu, taking his sword and shield, jumping eighteen cubits into the air, having shattered the replicas of the king, destroying the first fortress, and destroying the other fortresses also, started toward the fortress where the king was. Then the warrior Suranimala, who saw Dīghajattu heading toward the king, announced his name and shouted, "Where are you going while I am here? Stupid Demaḷa!"

At that time the warrior Dīghajattu, hearing those words, angrily saying, "Once I have killed this one by splitting him in two, I will then kill the king," jumped into the air. [Then] the warrior Suranimala, seeing him descend above his own head, took his shield by the handle and covered his head. The warrior Dīghajattu, seeing the shield that covered his head, thinking, "I will strike the shield and this person together," struck the shield. At that time the warrior Suranimala, releasing the shield from his hand, sent a sword-blow to his head. Dīghajattu fell to the ground with the shield. Before he rose up again, Suranimala cut him into two pieces with his sword. At that moment the warrior Phussadeva blew the conch as loud as a thunderbolt. Then the Demaḷas became like madmen. Thereupon the Demaḷa army broke up. King Eḷāra,

thinking, "What [use] are battles when Dīghajattu has fallen?" broke off and fled.

On that day they killed innumerable Demaḷas. The blood of the slain Demaḷas flowed into the water of the tank, which became mixed with blood. From then on that tank became known as the Kalatā Tank.[10] King Duṭugämuṇu, sent a drum around the land announcing, "Let no one except me kill King Eḷāra," and donning his armor, ascending on to the back of the elephant Kaḍol, who was [also] fitted with armor, pursued King Eḷāra, who broke off and was running, and came to the south gate of Anurādhapura. The battle of the two kings occurred there. How was the battle fought?

King Eḷāra, thinking, "I will throw a spear and kill him," threw the spear. King Duṭugämuṇu deflected the spear thrown by King Eḷāra. At that moment, having his elephant Kaḍol gore King Eḷāra's elephant Parvata with his tusks, he threw the spear at King Eḷāra. The spear stabbed that king through the heart, went through his back, and he fell together with the elephant at that very spot. Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu, who had won the battle, accompanied by the fourfold army, brought Laṅkādvīpa under one parasol [of rule] and entered Anurādhapura with great ceremony like Śakra, king of the gods, surrounded by the gods of the two divine worlds.

Thereupon King Duṭugämuṇu sent a drum around the city, assembling people in places [up to] about four *gavu*s on all sides of the city, having great honor and respect given to the dead body of King Eḷāra, taking it in a golden palanquin, clearing the cremation ground, burning it, had a relic shrine built on the spot where he was burned. Then saying, "May no one in the future, including kings such as me, travel by this place while on elephants, horses, and palanquins such as *idōli*s, *dōli*s, and *kūnama*s. May no drums, and so on, be struck," and having given the order, he had a stone inscription set up.

Thus King Duṭugämuṇu eliminated the thirty-two Demaḷa camps and brought the island under one parasol. On the very day in which King Duṭugämuṇu leveled Vijitapura, the warrior Dīghajattu, having gone before King Eḷāra and having told the king of the power of the warrior Bhalluka, who was his own nephew, sent a message to Daṁbadiva for him to come.[11] And Bhalluka, who heard that news, having boarded boats accompanied by sixty thousand warriors, descending upon the port of Māvaṭu on the seventh day after King Eḷāra had been cremated,

hearing the news that King Eḷāra had been killed, said, "I will not return to my country in shame. I will fight." And having set off from the port of Māvaṭu, he set up camp in a village named Koḷaṁbahālaka. And the great King Duṭugāmuṇu, hearing that Bhalluka had come, donning his armor, ascending upon the back of the elephant Kaḍol, and surrounding himself with the Ten Great Warriors, set off with great glory and ceremony. The warrior Phussadeva, equipped with the five weapons,[12] was seated in the rear seat of the elephant on which the king had ascended. The warrior Bhalluka, having donned armor, came toward King Gämuṇu, who was seated on the back of the elephant. On that day the elephant Kaḍol retreated backward slowly in order to diminish his velocity. And the army of Gämuṇu retreated backward along with the elephant. At that time King Gämuṇu spoke thus to the warrior Phussadeva. How did he speak?

"This majestic elephant did not retreat when he fought twenty-eight great battles before. Why does he now retreat from the battle with Bhalluka?" he asked. The warrior Phussadeva spoke thus to the king, "Lord! This majestic elephant, retreating backward and searching for the right place for our victory, will stay in that spot when he comes to the victory ground." Thereupon that elephant Kaḍol, having retreated backward, halted at the limit of the boundary of the Great Monastery [*mahāvihāra*] near Anurādhapura. At that time Bhalluka, coming toward King Gämuṇu, saying, "I will shoot right in the mouth the king who killed my uncle," and fixing the arrow, shouted out. King Gämuṇu, covering his mouth with the blade of his sword, shouted, "What, stupid Demaḷa?" Shouting, "I will shoot this into the king's mouth," Bhalluka released the arrow. That arrow hit the side of the sword before falling to the ground. At that time the king spit out red lac dye that was in his mouth. Bhalluka saw that, thought, "I shot King Duṭugāmuṇu solidly in the mouth," and happily cried out in joy.

At that time the warrior Phussadeva, seated behind the king, shot an arrow into Bhalluka's mouth, having [first] struck the ear-ornament worn by the king. Then shooting an arrow again at the knees of the one who, struck by the [first] arrow, was falling with his feet toward the king, he made him fall with his head toward the king. On that day the great King Duṭugāmuṇu entered the city in victory. Thereupon the warrior Phussadeva, taking blood from his own ear lobe for the mistake he made when he shot his arrow and struck the ear-ornament of the king,

announced to the king, "Lord, this is the punishment for the mistake I made when I shot my arrow and struck your ear-ornament." At that time the king, saying, "You are not to blame for something done to defeat my foes," had the arrow that was shot brought, and placing the arrow on its end, he had a pile of gold coins covering the feathers of the arrow awarded to Phussadeva.

Thus having defeated the foes and having brought this Laṅkādvīpa under one parasol, the king had as much gold, jewels, and official titles as possible awarded to the Ten Great Warriors. At the time he was awarding the official titles, the warrior Theraputtābhaya did not accept the office offered to him. When asked by the king, "Why don't you accept it?" he said, "Lord, there are more foes." The king heard those words and asked, "Now when Siṅhala has become one kingdom under me, what foe is there?"[13] The warrior Theraputtābhaya said to the king, "Lord! One cannot conquer the foe of the defilements at just any time. Therefore, I am going to battle against that foe." The king, who heard those words, objected three times, and because he would not assent, saying, "Very well, may you then be ordained," he granted his permission. The warrior Theraputtābhaya, who was given permission by the king, being ordained, developing insight and becoming an *arahant* with the Fourfold Discriminating Knowledge, resided along with five hundred *arahant*s in the monastery called Añjalipavva in Guttala located in the Ruhuṇu country.

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu, lying down in the palace on a beautifully decorated royal couch, reflecting on his prosperity equal to the prosperity of the gods, was happy and thought, "I have obtained such great prosperity from the acts of merit and good conduct from previous births." Next reflecting on the eighteen *ḳalanda*s of Demaḷas who were killed, he became very sad.[14] At that time an *arahant* who lived on the island of Puvaňgu ascertained the king's thought and dispatched eight *arahant*s to console the king. Those eight venerable ones, having come, sent word to the king of their arrival and ascended into the palace.

At that time the king, venerating the *thera*s, preparing their seats, and seating them, asked, "Why have you come?" While declaring the reason they came, the *thera*s said, "Great King! We have come to dispel your doubt that perhaps your attainment of both heaven and liberation is hindered because of the eighteen *ḳalanda*s of Demaḷas you killed." The king, who heard those words, said, "Of course, Reverends, having killed

about eighteen *ḳalanda*s of Demaḷas, your servant has accumulated much sin [*pav*] from fighting a battle of this magnitude. Kindly resolve this doubt, namely, is there or is there not an obstacle to both heaven and emancipation because of this unwholesome karma?"

And the *thera*s who heard those words said, "Great King! You will not encounter an obstacle to heaven and liberation because of this." "Why, Reverends? Why do you say there is no obstacle? When it is said that even when killing small creatures such as male and female ants, nits, and lice there is sin, why do you say that there is no obstacle to both my [rebirth in] heaven and liberation because of the sin in which I killed this many humans?" he asked.[15] "Great King! You are a Great Being [*mahatāṇōya*] who has made an aspiration and who has fulfilled the perfections for one incalculable [world-period] and one hundred thousand eons. You will be the right-hand disciple of the Fully Awakened Buddha Maitreya, who will become a Buddha in the future. Therefore, since you will not abide in the cycle of rebirth, there will be no occasion for sin [to bear fruit]," they said.[16]

At that time the king was consoled by the words of the *thera*s, and becoming happy, venerated the *thera*s, obtained their consent, and sent them away. Reclining again on the royal couch, [the king] thought, "At no time have I eaten food without [first] giving alms to the Sangha. When I was young, both of my parents said, 'Do not eat anything without giving alms,' and made us two brothers promise this. Have I or have I not eaten something without giving alms to the Sangha?" And while examining [this question], he pictured some pickled peppers that he ate forgetfully without giving alms and thought, "I have done a wrong. Therefore it would be good if I did penance." When the week during which he was crowned passed, endowed with great royal splendor and accompanied by the army, he went to bathe in the Tisā Tank in order to sport in the water and also to preserve the custom of kings who received the royal consecration.

At that time, having left gold ornaments, bundles of clothing, and other such possessions he had taken along at the site where the Mirisavāṭi [Pāli: Maricavaṭṭi] monastery would be built, he initiated water sports in the tank. Then the king's officers, who went along with the king, fixed the king's victory spear with the relic straight up on its end at the place they would build the Mirisavāṭi Relic Shrine. King Gämaṇu, having played in the water throughout the day along with the harem women, at

evening said, "Let us go to the city. Set off with the precious spear containing the relic before us."[17] The king's officers who heard those words, saying, "Let us take up the victory spear," were unable to move it, let alone take it from the place where it was fixed. The crowd, including the king, that saw that marvel made offerings to that victory spear and the relic with perfumes and garlands. Next, King Duṭugämuṇu, with a joyous mind, stationing guards at that place on all sides, went to the city and returned. Then building a relic shrine covering the royal victory spear, he had a great monastery constructed. The king finished building that monastery after three years.

Again, the great King Duṭugämuṇu had the Great Sangha assemble for the offering of the monastery. How many people assembled? One hundred thousand monks and ninety thousand nuns assembled. At that time, observing the Sangha, the king who was happy, venerated them, stood on one side, and announced thus. What did he announce? "Reverends! [Once] I ate pickled peppers forgetfully without giving alms. Because of that, this will be my penance. I had this Mirisaväṭi Monastery and the relic shrine built. Please accept it so that your servant may earn merit," and having thus announced, giving the gift of the monastery and the relic shrine as alms, pouring water in the hand [of the chief monk for the dedication], he offered the monastery to the Sangha. He had a large pavilion set up for the Sangha to be seated around that Mirisaväṭi Monastery. The roof of that pavilion extended up to the water of the Bayā Tank. Why talk of the remaining space?[18] Having seated about one hundred thousand monks and about ninety thousand nuns in the pavilion, which was arranged like that, pouring water on the hand [of the chief monk], giving a great gift of alms to the monks, he also gave all the requisites such as robes, and so on, as alms. The requisites received by the eldest *thera* of the Sangha were worth a lakh.

Thus, it is said that King Duṭugämuṇu, heroic in battle and in giving, endowed with wisdom, with a pure mind serenely joyful in the Triple Gem, made great efforts toward illuminating the world and the Dispensation, and knowing the virtue of gratitude, beginning with the building of the first relic shrine and ending with the offering of the Mirisaväṭi, besides priceless riches that he gave away, he made offerings to the Triple Gem [in which] the remaining riches had a value of about ninety-one crores. If there is [any] attachment toward the body or wealth, which are insubstantial and subject to disintegration, those who have knowledge

dispel that [attachment] in order to experience happiness in this world and the next world, and having accumulated every heap of merit like the great King Duṭugämuṇu, in the end, one ought to realize the condition of nirvana that the Buddha described as "Immortality without old age and death."

The Account of the Mirisaväṭi Monastery is finished.

10

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RELIC SHRINE

Thereupon King Duṭugämuṇu thought thus. What did he think? "The Mahāthera Mihiňdu said to my grandfather King Devanapātissa, 'Great King! A king named Duṭugämuṇu, who will be your grandson, will build a relic shrine of 120 cubits called the "Golden Garlands." He will build a mansion called the "Great Copper-Roofed Mansion" [*lōvāmahāpāya*] with nine stories for the Sangha to hold the *pōya* observances,'" and while investigating this, seeing an inscription on a gold plaque in a casket in the royal palace, he had it read aloud. Hearing the message that was written, "In the future when 140 years have passed, a king named Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya, the son of a king named Kāvantissa, will build these two monasteries [*vihāra*]," that King Duṭugämuṇu, happily, folding his left hand and clapping with his right hand, said, "I have been seen by the Mahāthera Mihiňdu, who is my Dear Lord." The next morning, going to the Mahamevunā Park accompanied by the great assembly, assembling and venerating the Sangha, standing on one side, and putting his two hands on his head [in reverence], he announced, "Reverends! I will build a *pōya* hall resembling a divine mansion for the monastic community. Send *arahant*s to the divine world, have them draw a sketch of the palace on a canvas, and have it brought back and given to me," he announced.

Thereupon the Sangha, conveying those instructions to eight *arahant*s, sent them to the divine world. Those eight venerable ones, going to the

Tavtisā [Pāli: Tāvatiṃsa] heaven, saw the palace of precious materials that was forty-eight *gavu*s in height and decorated with one thousand chambers of precious materials; [belonging to] the divine maiden Bīraṇi, who was there and had a body three *gavu*s high, adorned with a gold crown one *gavu* high, wearing a divine dress eighteen *gavu*s long, adorned with ornaments that completely filled sixty carts, having applied nine *amuṇa*s of fragrant ointment, adorned with one and one-half *yāḷa*s of fragrant flowers such as campaka, ironwood, *panā*, *sihin genda*, jasmine, the two kinds of *idda*s, *surabi*, water lilies, *parasatu*, *ḳovilāra*, blue water lilies, *dunukē*, *väṭakē*, *ḳarākē*, *sēvandi*, *saugandhika*, *maruvaka*, and *vidävana*, and surrounded by sixty thousand dancing women; and which arose from the merit when she cooked alms with a composed mind as a slave.[1] And drawing a sketch with vermillion, [the eight *arahant*s] brought it back and gave it to the monastic community. The Sangha gave that sketch to the king.

The king, seeing that diagram with happiness, built the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion like that [divine] mansion. How was it built? On the day he began the mansion, he placed eight thousand gold coins at the four gates. Again at the four gateways he put one thousand bundles of clothes and pots numbering several hundreds of thousands, which were arranged and filled with sugar cane jaggery, cow ghee, and *mī* oil. That Duṭugämuṇu, sending a drum around Anurādhapura proclaiming, "Let no one work on this Great Copper-Roofed Mansion without receiving wages," again ordered, "If any one does work without receiving wages, appraise their work and give wages."

That Great Copper-Roofed Mansion was one hundred cubits in length on each side. It was also one hundred cubits in height. It was made with nine stories, and there were one hundred chambers [*gabaḍā geval*] in each story. Every single chamber was constructed in silver and encircled with nettings of gold bells. Those chambers were endowed with platforms made of coral that shone from the many dazzling canopies. The lotuses on those platforms were made with an abundance of the seven precious materials. Similarly, having constructed the one thousand chambers with numerous precious objects,[2] having finished the "lion windows" [*sivumäduru*] with precious materials, and hearing of the Nāri chariot of King Vesavuṇu,[3] he built a jeweled pavilion in the middle of the palace as a replica of that chariot. He had that pavilion surrounded with pillars of precious materials that shone with many images, such as images of lions, tigers, and deities, and also with

a netting of pearls resembling myrobalan fruits that hung on all sides. The platform made of coral on that pavilion was made in the same manner as said before. In the middle of the platform decorated with the seven precious materials, he made a seat with a backrest made out of ivory on the floor made out of crystal. He also had sun disks made out of gold. Likewise he had moon disks made out of silver. And further it was decorated with stars that were made with pearls. In this and that place, as appropriate, he had lotuses made of precious materials and Jātaka [reliefs], which evoked serene joy, and in intervals between them he had golden creepers made. Having laid out a very costly carpet in that pavilion, he placed a beautiful fan that was made out of ivory. And he had steps embedded with coral made. Likewise, on top of the seat, lotuses made of coral were fixed. And he had a jeweled, white parasol that had a handle made out of silver set up. Therein he had the Eight Auspicious Marks [*aṭamaňgala*] that were made out of the seven precious materials and rows of four-footed creatures that were made of gems and pearls fashioned in the intervals in between.[4] Around the edge of the white parasol he hung rows of bells made of precious materials.

These four things, namely, the mansion, the white parasol, the seat, and the pavilion, were priceless. Having arranged very costly couches and seats, having covered them in very costly blankets, he had very costly carpeting spread out on the floor. He had water vessels that can hold the water from sixty water pots and a gold ladle for sprinkling water made. All the remaining requisites for the enjoyment [of the Sangha] were beyond measure. And the gateway was encircled with a delightful wall. Because the mansion was covered with copper tiles [*lōhuḷu*] it was called "The Great Copper-Roofed Mansion."[5]

Thus having built the mansion like the divine assembly hall called Sudharmā in the Tavtisā heaven, he assembled the Sangha. The Great Sangha assembled as [they did] for the offering of the Mirisaväṭi Monastery. The worldly venerable ones resided on the bottom floor.[6] Those venerable ones who maintained the Three Piṭakas, namely, the Sūtra Piṭaka, the Abhidharma Piṭaka, and the Vinaya Piṭaka, resided on the second floor. The Stream-enterer, Once-returner, and Non-returner monks stayed on the third, fourth, and fifth floors. The *arahant*s resided beginning from the sixth floor up. Thereupon King Duṭugämuṇu, having thus assembled and seated the Sangha, pouring water in their hand [for the dedication], offering it to the Sangha, gave a great gift of alms for seven days as at the offering of the Mirisaväṭi Monastery.

Aside from the priceless riches for that mansion, the wealth that was donated for the mansion by the great King Duṭugämuṇu, whose generosity was great, was worth about thirty crores. Therefore, knowledgeable beings! One should understand with reference to the accumulation of wealth that must be given up when one goes to the next world, that king, having given alms, took it along into the next world.[7]

The Account of the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion is finished.

Again, one day that great King Gämuṇu, spending a lakh of wealth, making an offering to the Bodhi Tree, and while entering the city, saw the stone inscription that had been set up by King Devanapātissa at the place where the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands would be established [in the future]. Then recalling the words that were spoken by the Mahāthera Mihiňdu, thinking, "I will build the Great Relic Shrine," and having made his decision, entering the inner city, climbing up to the terrace in the royal palace, eating a meal that included soups, curries, and sweetcakes, having lain down on the bed, he thought thus. What did he think?

"The kingdom's residents fought the Demaḷas along with me and have come upon great hardship. By what means might I have bricks formed righteously and fairly, in a manner appropriate for the Great Relic Shrine, without causing hardship to the people?" he thought. At that moment the goddess who was dwelling in the white parasol ascertained his thoughts, and shouted loudly, "King Duṭugämuṇu has thought thus." That sound, traveling in succession, spread through the Six Divine Worlds.[8] Śakra, king of the gods, learning of that fact, summoned the deity Viśvakarma, and said, "Dear boy! King Duṭugämuṇu has thought, 'How might I obtain the bricks to build the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands?' Go create a heap of bricks on the bank of the Gäṁburu River about four *gavu*s north of Anurādhapura and come back," and sent him off. Viśvakarma, who heard that speech, coming [to this world], creating bricks appropriate for the Great Relic Shrine near that river, went back to the divine world.

On the following day a hunter with dogs went into the forest, released his dogs, and wandered here and there. Having gone to where the bricks had been left, but not seeing them, he turned back toward the city. At that instant a terrestrial deity, having seen this, assuming the form of a large iguana in order to reveal those bricks to the hunter, showing himself to the hunter and the dogs, being chased by them, went to the

place where the heap of bricks had been left and disappeared. Thus the hunter who went chasing after it saw the bricks and thought, "Our king wishes to build a relic shrine. I have obtained a great gift." And coming to the city with a happy mind, coming to the palace the next morning, seeing the king, he told the king of the gift of bricks he had seen. The great King Duṭugämuṇu, who heard those words, becoming happy, giving much wealth to that hunter with the dogs, ordered the hunter to guard the bricks. King Duṭugämuṇu said, "I myself will go see the bricks. Place the precious royal spear out in front [of the royal expedition]." At that instant, another message was brought and relayed to the king.

When rain had fallen during the three watches of the night in a village named Avuruviṭi twelve *gavu*s northeast of Anurādhapura, golden shoots [*ran pāla*] arose in an area for sowing three *yāḷa*s and four *amuṇa*s of seeds. How high did the golden shoots rise? The tall golden shoots rose to a height of about a span. The short golden shoots rose up having a height of about four finger-breadths. When morning came, those villagers, seeing the golden shoots with happiness, saying, "An object fitting for our king has arisen," and having stationed guards at that place, filling a bowl with golden shoots, brought and showed it to the king. The king, becoming happy, giving wealth that was fitting to the villagers, assigned those very villagers as the guards of it. Again, in that same instant, another message was brought and relayed to the king.

Copper arose in a village named Taṁbaviṭi on the bank of the river about twenty-eight *gavu*s east of the city. Those villagers, happily saying, "We have received an object suitable for the king," and thereafter filling a bowl with copper, they brought and showed it to the king. And the king, having seen that with happiness, giving wealth that was fitting to them, stationed those villagers as guards. Following that message, they reported yet another message.

Numerous gems mixed with lily-colored rubies appeared near the Sumana tank sixteen *gavu*s southeast of Anurādhapura. Those villagers, filling a bowl with them, brought and showed it to the king. And the king, happily seeing that gift, giving abundant wealth as was fitting to them, stationed them as the guards of that treasure. And following that message, they brought another message and announced it to the king.

Silver appeared in a cave in the Ämtoṭa district thirty-two *gavu*s south of Anurādhapura. At that time a merchant who was staying in Anurādhapura,

taking along many carts for ginger, turmeric, and so on, and while going through a mountain forest, unharnessing the carts at a place not far from the cave entrance where the silver was, looking for goad sticks and firewood, and while going up that mountain, saw a jack tree. On a branch of the jack tree, a single jackfruit as big as a cooking pot had ripened and was bending the branch. That merchant, having seen the jackfruit that rested on top of the rocks, going up to the jackfruit, looking at and squeezing it with his hand, realizing that it was ripe, cut the stalk with his adze. Then the branch of that jack tree became straight just as it was before. Thereupon the merchant, cutting that jackfruit for himself, thinking, "I will not eat without giving an offering of what I have obtained," called out to the Sangha, "It is time to come and receive alms."

At that time, four *arahant*s appeared before the merchant. That merchant, seeing the four venerable ones who had come, becoming happy, venerating the resplendent feet of those four venerable ones, seating them, and slicing around the stalk of the jackfruit with the adze, plucked out and removed the core. At that time all the juice in the jackfruit flowed down and filled up the space from which the core had been removed. That merchant, filling four bowls of jack liquid, which was the color of gold, gave alms. Those four *arahant*s, while continuing to look at that merchant, rose up into the sky and went away. Again that merchant called out, "It is time to come and recieve alms." And at that time, four more venerable ones went up to the merchant in the same way. Having taken the bowls from the hands of those four venerable ones, filling the bowls with the pods of the jack that were golden in color, he offered them. At that time three venerable ones from among those four *thera*s went away by air. The other *thera*, who was named Indagutta, wishing to reveal the silver in that mountain cave, descending the mountain, sitting in a place not far from the entrance of the cave with the silver, ate the jack pods.

When the venerable ones had turned and gone, that merchant ate [some of] the remaining jack pods himself and tied up the leftover jack pods in a bundle. Then while coming [back], seeing the *thera* who was eating the jack pods, becoming happy, he gave him water for cleaning his hand and leaves for cleaning the bowl. Making a path that went by the entrance of the cave where the silver was kept to the place where the carts were, the *thera* said, "Lay devotee! Go along this path." And that merchant, receiving the words he spoke with the utmost respect, venerating

him, and taking his leave, going along the path and coming to the entrance of the cave, and while looking inside the mountain cave, seeing the silver that lay before him, picking up a lump of silver, cutting it with his adze and looking, happily realizing that it was silver, and picking up a large lump of silver, going to where he had left the carts, leaving the carts in a place with grass and water [for the bullocks], going quickly to Anurādhapura, and showing the silver to the king, announced that fact. The great King Gämuṇu heard those words and gave great wealth to that merchant. Following that message, they announced another message.

About sixty cartloads of coral and large pearls equal in size to large myrobalan fruits came out of the ocean and were pushed ashore at the port village named Uruvel twenty *gavu*s west of Anurādhapura. The fishermen in that port village saw that and said, "An object suitable for our king has appeared." Then becoming happy, scooping up those pearls and coral, making a pile, and stationing guards [to watch over it], filling a bowl with that, they brought it to the king. The king showed those fishermen much favor in return. Again, they brought and announced another message.

Four gems about the size of a plank [*pōru*], which were one carpenter's cubit, one span, and four finger-breadths in length, and which were like the color of *diyaberaliya* flowers,[9] appeared on top of a sandbank in a mountain stream that ran down into the tank in a village named Peḷavāpi, twenty-eight *gavu*s northwest of the city. Thereupon a hunter named Matta with dogs, taking his dogs, and happily seeing those four gems while walking along the bank of the stream, thought, "This is a gift suitable for my king." Then burying those four gems in the sand, coming to the city, and going before the king, he announced that news. The king, who heard that news with happiness, gave a present to that hunter. Thus the great King Duṭugämuṇu, having heard in just one day that these things such as the bricks appeared for the relic shrine, went to those places where the bricks and silver appeared. The places where these various treasures appeared became known by those respective names [of the treasures].

The Account of Acquiring the Material for the Thūpa is finished.

Thereupon King Duṭugämuṇu had all the precious objects such as the gold brought for the relic shrine and collected them in his storeroom. Next, when all those collections were finished, beginning the work to lay

the foundation for the Great Relic Shrine under the Visā asterism on the full-moon day of Vesak, the king removed the stone inscription set up by King Devanapātissa in the place where the relic shrine would be established, dug and removed seven carpenter's cubits of earth up to the surrounding elephant wall for the foundation, and had soldiers spread out round stones, pounding and crushing them with sledge hammers. After that, having curriers sew leather casings for the elephants' feet, having them put on the elephants, and having them crush [the rocks further], then he had butter clay spread on top of the rock powder. What was that butter clay?

At the place where the Heavenly River fell, drops of water were sprinkled in an area of about 120 *gavu*s on all sides.[10] And where rice spontaneously grew [without being cultivated], that place was named Tintasīsakolaya because that place was continuously moistened. Because the clay in that area was soft, they called it "butter clay." Novices who had extinguished the mental defilements brought that clay from there.[11] They did all the clay work with that clay. On top of that clay, [the king] had pieces of brick spread, and on top of that, he put crushed gravel. Spreading *kuruňdu* stones on top of that gravel, spreading an iron netting on top of the *kuruňdu* stones, spreading fragrant mud that was brought from Himālaya by the novices on top of that iron netting, spreading *kirivāṇa* stone on top of that, and spreading cystal on top of the *kirivāṇa* stone, he had a stone layer made on top of that crystal. Everywhere he used that butter clay for the plasterwork. Spreading a copper sheet eight finger-breadths thick on top of a layer of clay that was mixed with *rasadiya* and with wood-apple gum on top of where he spread that stone,[12] and spreading yellow orpiment that was mixed with sesame oil on top of that copper sheet, and spreading a silver sheet four fingers thick on top of that, the great King Duṭugämuṇu prepared the foundation in every way, assembled the monastic community on the fourteenth day of the month of Äsaḷa, venerated them, and stood on one side, announcing thus.

"Reverends! Tomorrow on the full-moon day under the Uturusaḷa asterism, I will lay the ceremonial brick of the Great Relic Shrine on the ground. May the Sangha assemble at the building site of the relic shrine tomorrow," and having thus announced, entering Anurādhapura, and while sending the drum [of proclamation] around the city, he had words proclaimed in this manner. "Tomorrow let everyone observe the Eight

Precepts, take things such as perfumes, garlands, lamps, and oil, and assemble at the building site of the relic shrine."[13] And having thus sent the drum around, he then instructed two ministers named Visākha and Sirideva, "Let the two of you go and decorate the building site of the relic shrine," and sent them away. Spreading sand on all sides like a sheet of silver, and spreading these five things, namely, white mustard, broken rice, jasmine buds, arrow grass, and puffed rice on top of that sand, raising archways of banana trees, having large and small filled pots set up, having flags and banners endowed with the five colors, such as red, blue, and so on, tied at the top of blue bamboo poles that were like blue sapphire gems, and spreading gold flowers, silver flowers, and many kinds of flowers that emit fragrance on the ground, they decorated that building site of the relic shrine in various ways.

Thereupon that great King Duṭugämuṇu decorated all of Anurādhapura and the road to the monastery like the Sudarśana road in the Tavtisā heaven. When morning came, placing barbers at the four gateways of the city in order to decorate the women and men who were coming for the offering, trimming the beards and moustaches of the villagers and the citizens who were coming and washing them with warm water; bath attendants for the sake of washing their heads and bathing them; and valets for the sake of adorning them with objects containing medicinal oils and perfumes, as well as clothes and ornaments; and [thus] having bathed, dressed, and adorned them, he gave tasty rice and curries for people to eat, and these things suitable for eating such as jaggery, bananas, sugarcane stalks, coconuts, areca nut, and soft and hard jackfruit, and also these eight kinds of drinks that may be drunk such as bee honey, sugarcane juice, the water of the young coconut, and the juice of *äṭa* bananas, and so on,[14] and betel with these five breath-freshening ingredients—namely, camphor, cloves, *taḳul* nuts, nutmeg rinds, and the *iňguru piyali* root—[all] placed at the four gateways. That king instructed, "Let these inhabitants of my Laṅkādvīpa who are coming for the offering at this site of the relic shrine enjoy all the goods left by me and come for the offering." At that time, [The king] having said, "May all persons, in accordance with their own will, trim their beards and moustaches, wash their heads and bathe, eat rice and curry, drink the sweet liquids infused with fragrance, be adorned with clothes and ornaments, and go to the building site of the relic shrine," they came for the offering in the manner written by the scribes.[15]

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu—bathing with sixteen pots of scented water, dressing in gold-embroidered clothes, being adorned with the sixty-four ornaments such as the gold forehead plate [*ranpaṭa*], the precious headband [*ruvansōḷu*], the single-thread necklace [*ekāväḷa*], the *kuṇḍala* ear ornament, the *tādaṅka* ear ornament, the *kādukāppu* ear ornament, the string of pearls [*mutupaṭa*], the *kaṭṭōdaṁ*, the arm band [*bāhudaṇḍi*], the bracelet of gems [*miṇivaḷalu*], the hand bracelet [*kaivaḷalu*], the jeweled bangle [*miṇikayivaḍaṁ*], the fivefold ornament [*pasrū*], the necklace of precious materials [*ruvanvaäḷa*], the gold waist-chain [*ransavaḍi*], the foot chain [*pādasaṅkhalā*], the foot ornament [*pādābharaṇa*], the jingling anklet [*pāsalaṁba*], and the netting of small bells [*kiṅkiṇikajālā*], and a gold crown with these five "crowns" [i.e., diadems] described as the *siddha* crown, the gem crown, the gold crown, the lion crown, and the tiger crown, and thus being decorated like Śakra, king of the gods, who is the ruler for the gods of the two divine worlds,[16] being accompanied by forty thousand men who were headed by the warriors such as Nandimitra, and so on, who were brave heroes, who took up weapons such as swords that had beautifully painted handles, javelins, and spears, and who were skilled in the eighteen arts such as the art of elephant lore, the art of horsemanship, the art of swordmanship, and the art of archery, and taking the *pōya* observances, having officials who numbered several thousands stand guard, and being accompanied by sixteen thousand dancing women who resembled the goddess Sujātā,[17] and who were adorned with ornaments such as the gold bracelet [*kanaka kaṭaka*],[18] the ornamental girdle [*rasanā*], anklets [*nūpura*], the *tādaṅka* ear ornament, toe ornaments [*pādāṅguli*], foot ornaments [*pādapaṭa*], the fivefold protective ornament [*pasperahara*], the necklace of a single strand [*ekväṭi*], toe rings [*pāmudu*], jingling anklets, the foot-lotus ornament [*pāpiyum*], the ornament with two rows of jingling bells [*depaṭavidyā*], the breast plate [*oravasuṁ*], the gold waist-chain, jeweled bangles, the *ratnapaṭa* ornament, pearl *kaṭṭōdaṁ* ornaments, the *pamutiliṅgaṁ* ornament, *kādukāppu* ear ornaments, precious hanging earings [*ruvan tōḍu*], the *sirikan* ear ornament, and hair-garlands [*koṇḍamāl*]—while delighting many people with his glory and prosperity like Śakra, king of the gods, set off for the building site of the relic shrine in the afternoon amid a great ceremonial procession with great glory and splendor along with drums such as Kandyan drums [*gäṭa bera*], *paṇā*, one-sided drums [*ekasbera*], *maddala*, tabor drums [*mihiṅgu*], kettle drums [*paṭaha*], metal drums

[*lohobera*], *tappu*, *talappara*, *virandaṁ*, large hourglass drums [*ḍäkki*], small hourglass drums [*uḍäkki*], tom-toms [*tammäṭa*], *raṇaraṅga ghoṣā*, *samudra ghoṣa*, and the *ḍavura sinnaṁ*, and with horns such as gold conches, silver conches, victory conches, jeweled conches, gold trumpets, silver trumpets, jeweled trumpets, *randārā*, *riḍīdārā*, *daḷahaṁ*, *lōhaṁ*, *gavarahaṁ*, *vijayodhvani*, *ottu*, *tantiri*, and *paṭasiri*, and with sounds such as those of the *nakula vīṇā*, the *bhṛṅga vīṇā*, the *kṣudra vīṇā*, the *ālavatti*, the *vaṅgi*, and the flute, like the ocean's roar near the Yugandhara Mountain. Thereupon he set up 1,008 piles of clothes tied in bundles for the ceremony at the building site of the relic shrine. He had ghee, honey, jaggery, sugar cane, bananas, soft and hard jackfruit, and edibles of various kinds gathered.[19] At that time, many assemblies of monks came from various lands. How did they come?

The Mahāthera Indagutta, who was residing near the city of Rajagahā, came by air accompanied by 80,000 *arahant*s. Likewise the Mahāthera Dhammasena, who was residing at the Isipatana Monastery in the city of Baraṇäs, came accompanied by 18,000 *arahant*s. The Thera Piyadassi came accompanied by 18,000 *arahant*s from the Jetavana Monastery, where the Buddha had stayed in the city of Sävät [Pāli: Sāvatthi]. The Thera Mahābuddharakkhita came accompanied by 18,000 monks from the Mahāvana [Monastery] in the great city of Viśālā. The Mahāthera Dhammarakkhita came accompanied by 30,000 *arahant*s from the Ghoṣita Hermitage in the city of Kosaṁbā. Likewise the Mahāthera Mahādhammarakkhita came accompanied by 40,000 *arahant*s from the Dakuṇugiri Monastery in the city of Udeni. The Mahāthera Mittiṇṇa came accompanied by 160,000 *arahant*s from the Aśoka Hermitage in the city of Päḷalup. A *mahāthera* named Uttiṇṇa came accompanied by 280,000 *arahant*s from Gandhāra. The Mahāthera Mahādeva came accompanied by about 460,000 *arahant*s from the country called Mahāpallavabhogga. The Mahāthera Dhammarakkhita the Yonaka came accompanied by 30,000 *arahant*s from the city called Alasandā in the Yon country. A *thera* named Uttara came accompanied by 80,000 *arahant*s from the residence named Vattanīya in the Vindhya Forest. The Mahāthera Cittagutta came accompanied by 30,000 *arahant*s from the Mahābodhimaṇḍala Monastery. The Mahāthera Vandagutta came accompanied by 80,000 *arahant*s from the Vanavāsībhoga Monastery. The Mahāthera Sūriyagutta came accompanied by 96,000 *arahant*s from the Great Monastery at Kosala. The monks who were lacking in attainments and were dwelling in

the island were innumerable. It ought to be understood that of the monks who gathered in that assembly, about ninety-six crores of monks were *arahant*s who had destroyed the mental intoxicants and who had come by air.

Thus the Great Sangha that assembled, surrounding King Duṭugämuṇu like a ring of coral, stood in a manner so as not to bump into each other, leaving aside some ground for a person in the middle. In the eastern direction, the Mahāthera Buddharakkhita stood surrounded by five hundred *arahant*s [also] named Buddharakkhita. Likewise in the southern direction the Mahāthera Dhammarakkhita stood with five hundred *arahant*s named Dhammarakkhita. The Mahāthera Sangharakkhita stood in the western direction with five hundred *arahant*s named Sangharakkhita. The Mahāthera Ānanda stood accompanied by five hundred *arahant*s named Ānanda in the northern direction. The Thera Piyadassi stood with a great assembly of monks in the northeastern corner. King Duṭugämuṇu, who was in the middle of the assembly, thought, "If this relic shrine that I am building will be finished without impediment, may the *thera*s who have the names of Buddharakṣita, Dharmarakṣita, Saṅgharakṣita, and Ānanda stand in the eastern direction, the southern direction, the western direction, and the northern direction." That happened in that very manner.

The Mahāthera Indagutta ascertained the intention of the king and had them stand in that very manner. Again, eleven venerable ones, namely, the *thera* named Siddhārtha, the *thera* named Maṅgala, the *thera* named Paduma, the *thera* named Sīvalī, the *thera* named Candagutta, the *thera* named Sūriyagutta, the *thera* named Indagutta, the *thera* named Sāgara, the *thera* named Cittasēna, the *thera* named Jayasēna, and the *thera* named Acala, each being accompanied by their monks, stood facing the east with filled pots in front of them.

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu, seeing the assembly of monks who stood in that manner, and while having a serenely joyful mind, making offerings [to the monks] with such things as perfumes and garlands, circumambulating them, prostrating himself on the ground in the four directions to venerate them, and going to where the filled pots were—having a minister's son whose parents were living, who was well-born on his mother's side and his father's side, who was decorated, and who was regarded as auspicious, take hold of the cubit-long staff made of silver that was tied to a gold post—began to mark a large circumference

for the relic shrine. When they began to make it large in that manner, the Mahāthera Siddhārtha stopped them. Why?

That *thera* had this such thought, "If this king builds the relic shrine on a large scale, he will die even before he completes it. Moreover, if it is built very large, one cannot maintain it in the future," and thus he stopped them. At that time the Great Sangha said, "Lord! The *thera* is powerful. Therefore agree to what the *thera* says." The great King Duṭugämuṇu, realizing the intention of the Great Sangha, said, "Reverend! Then how large shall I build it?" Siddhārtha Thera said, "Great King! Have the circumference for the relic shrine drawn along the path I travel." When the *thera* set off, the great King Gämuṇu, having the circumference of the relic shrine drawn right along the path of the *thera*, and going up to the *thera*, venerating at his resplendent feet, he asked, "Reverend! What is your name, Sir?" And hearing him say, "Siddhārtha is my name," he thought happily, "This relic shrine that I am building will be accomplished."[20] Then making offerings to him with perfumes, garlands, and so on, and venerating him, going up to the eleven venerable ones who stood around him, venerating their resplendent feet also, making offerings with perfumes and with flowers, asking the names of those eleven venerable ones, and having walked around the circumference of the relic shrine, he asked the minister's son who stood holding the silver staff, "What is your name?" And that minister's son said, "Lord! I am a brahmin named Supratiṣṭhīta [Well-established]." Then when he asked, "What is the name of your father?" [the boy] said, "Lord! My father is the brahmin named Nandisēna." "What is the name of your mother?" he asked. "It is Sumanādēvī," he said. King Duṭugämuṇu, who heard those words, thought happily, "All of their names are very auspicious. The work on this relic shrine that I am building will certainly reach completion."

Thereupon that King Duṭugämuṇu, having become happy, having eight gold pots and eight silver pots placed in the middle, put 108 filled pots around those pots. Thereupon, having eight gold bricks set up, placing 108 silver bricks around each gold brick, he placed 108 garments for each gold brick. Again, having the minister's son named Supratiṣṭhīta take a gold brick, and having seven other ministers' sons who had the same name as that minister's son and whose parents were living, take the other seven gold bricks, they set off to lay the ceremonial bricks. At that moment a *thera* named Cittasēna placed a lump of scents on the

ground on which the line had been drawn for the circumference on the eastern side. The Thera Jayasēna sprinkled water on top of that lump of scents and mixed it with his hand. That brahmin Supratiṣṭhīta established the ceremonial brick under the Uturusaḷa asterism, which had good conjunctions, along with great offerings and reverence. And a *mahāthera* named Sumana made offerings at that spot with jasmine flowers. At that instant the great earth with a thickness of 240,000 [leagues] rumbled and shook. In this same way the other seven bricks were also established.

Thereupon King Duṭugämuṇu established the eight silver bricks also, made offerings with perfumes and flowers, and finished making the auspicious arrangements.[21] Again, at the conclusion of the arrangements for the offerings, that King Duṭugämuṇu, having flowers brought for himself with a gold basket, going up to the Thera Mahābuddharakkhita, who stood in front of the monks who were in the eastern direction, venerating and making offerings to him with perfumes, flowers, and so on, asked the name of that *thera* and the names of the five hundred *thera*s who stood around him. Next, having gone up to the Thera Mahādhammarakkhita who stood in the southern direction, the Thera Mahāsangharakkhita who stood in the western direction, and the Thera Ānanda who stood in the northern direction, making offerings with perfumes, flowers, and so on, and asking their names, going to the northeastern corner, venerating and making offerings to the Mahāthera Piyadassi who was there, asking his name too, he stood near him. That Mahāthera Piyadassi preached the pleasing Dharma to the Fourfold Assembly including the king on the day those ceremonial bricks were laid. Having heard his Dharma sermon, forty thousand people from among the householders became *arahant*s with the Fourfold Discriminating Knowledge. Again, forty thousand people, having destroyed fifteen hundred defilements, obtained the fruit of the Stream-enterer, illuminated by one thousand methods. Again, one thousand people were established in the fruit of the Once-returner. One thousand people were established in the fruit of the Non-returner. Eighteen thousand monks arrived at Arahantship. Fourteen thousand nuns became *arahant*s.

The Account of the Commencement of the Relic Shrine is finished.

11

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIC CHAMBER

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu venerated the monks and said, "Reverends! Until the day my relic shrine is finished, I will provide the four requisites to these ninety-six crores of *arahant*s and to the assembly of innumerable worldly monks." The Great Sangha did not consent to this. Then saying, "If that is the case, may you consent to it for ten years," and thus entreating them and being refused repeatedly in this manner, [but] receiving their permission for seven days [of alms-giving], inviting them, erecting pavilions in eighteen places around the building site of the relic shrine, seating the Great Sangha, giving a great gift of alms for seven days, he gave alms such as ghee, honey, sugarcane jaggery, the bowl and robe, and medicines to the entire Great Sangha.

Thereupon, when he went into the city and assembled about five hundred brick masons by the sound of the drum he sent around, one brick mason from among them, thinking, "I will win the favor of the king and build the relic shrine," went and saw the king. At that time the king asked, "Dear boy, how will you build the relic shrine?" "Lord! Taking along one hundred apprentices, I will do the work using a cartload of earth per day," he announced. The king, who heard those words, saying, "Dear boy! If it is done like that, my relic shrine will become a mound of earth. Grass, trees, and so on, will grow. It will not last a long time. Therefore you cannot build the relic shrine," he sent him away. When he

had gone away from there, another brick mason venerated him and announced, "Lord! Taking along one hundred laborers, I will have the work done with ten *amuṇa*s of earth per day."[1] And without choosing him either, [the king] sent him away. Another brick mason respectfully venerated him and announced, "Lord! Taking along one hundred laborers and taking five *amuṇa*s of earth, I will do the work." Then when he had sent him away also, another brick mason, respectfully venerating the king, announced, "Lord! Taking two *amuṇa*s of earth, I will do the work." And when he did not choose him either, another knowledgeable, skillful, and young brick mason,[2] came, venerated the king, and announced, "Lord! Taking an *amuṇa* of earth per day, putting it on a mortar, pounding it, putting that earth in a winnowing basket, sifting it, then putting that earth that was sifted upon a grinding stone, and grinding it, I will do the work each day with that earth." King Gämuṇu heard those words and said happily, "Dear boy, if it is done like that, grass and trees will not grow on my relic shrine. It will last a long time." Then giving his consent, again the king asked that brick mason, "Dear boy! How will you build the relic shrine?"

At that time the deity Viśvakarma, entering the body of the brick mason [*äňga āvēśava*],[3] having a gold bowl brought, filling it with water, taking some water in his hand, splashed it on the surface of the water in the bowl. At that moment a large water bubble like a ball of crystal rose up. Then that brick mason announced, "Lord! I will make the relic shrine round like this water bubble." King Gämuṇu, who heard these words, becoming very happy, said, "Very well!" And having thus consented, giving to him a pair of garments worth one thousand [gold coins], a gold ornament called *pūrṇaḳa* worth one thousand, a pair of gold sandals worth one thousand, and twelve thousand gold coins, and having given all of these things with serene joy, including a very costly home in a suitable place for him and a very valuable field, he sent him home.

Again, in the nighttime the king thought, "How could I have the bricks to build the Great Shrine brought without causing the people to suffer?" Thereupon the deities, having ascertained the king's thought, brought and left a sufficient amount of bricks each day at the four gates of the relic shrine to build it. In the morning, the people saw the four piles of bricks at the four gates and went to inform the king. King Duṭugämuṇu heard those words and had the brick mason begin the work. In this very manner, until the relic shrine was finished and built, the deities brought and left the

necessary amount of bricks each day. [The people] did work throughout the entire day. In order that neither clay nor bits of brick would appear in that place, the deities themselves made them disappear at night.

Thereupon the king had these things such as sixteen thousand gold coins, bundles of clothes, ornaments, perfumes, fineries, flowers, ghee, honey, jaggery, sugarcane, bananas, soft and hard jackfruit, the juice of young coconuts, and all these things such as salt, peppers, ginger, cumin, and mustard collected at each of the of the four gateways for payment to the entire group doing the work. Again he had rice gruel and cooked rice accompanined by many kinds of soups, curries, cakes, and sweetmeats, and so on, and cool, refeshing, scented water arranged. And having arranged betel with the five breath-freshening ingredients, which comprise camphor, *taḵul* nuts, nutmeg rinds, cloves, and the *iṅguru piyali* root, saying, "Let neither laypersons nor renunciates who work on my relic shrine, enjoying all these things in accordance with their wish, go without taking payment for the work they have done," and having directed them, he had it arranged.

Thereupon a *thera*, wishing to join in on the work on the king's relic shrine, taking with one hand a lump of clay that he made similar to the clay being used in the work on the relic shrine, and taking a handful of flowers with the other hand, going up to the relic shrine, tricking the workers on the king's relic shrine, he gave them to the brick mason. And that brick mason, while taking the lump of clay, thinking, "This is not like the clay that I have used till now," and looking into the *thera*'s face, noticing his humble look, used the lump of clay in the work. As a result, an uproar occurred at the deception over the lump of clay.

The king, hearing that uproar, came and asked the brick mason, "Say! Did a *thera* give you a lump of clay for the work on my relic shrine without accepting payment?" The brick mason announced to the king, "Lord! Many noble ones, each bringing flowers with one hand and a lump of clay with the other hand, offer them. Therefore, I used the lump of clay in the work without realizing it. However, I know one thing. I only know whether a venerable one is a visitor or a resident." The king said, "If that is so, dear boy, point out the *thera* who gave you the lump of clay to this person," stationing an older guard near the brick mason. The next day when the *thera* who gave the lump of clay came to the building site of the relic shrine, the brick mason pointed him out to the guard, saying, "This is the venerable one who offered the lump of clay."

At that time the guard, having identified that venerable one, went before the king and announced, "Lord! I have identified the *thera* who put in the lump of clay for the relic shrine without taking payment." Thereupon the king, who heard that news, while speaking to the guard, "Dear boy! Take along one and one-half *yāḷa*s of jasmine buds that I have given, make a pile out of them in the courtyard of the Bodhi Tree, place a lump of scents [there], and when that venerable one goes to the courtyard of the Bodhi Tree, go venerate at his resplendent feet and offer them," gave them to the guard. Then the guard, taking along those flowers and perfumes, announced, "Reverend! These are the perfumes and flowers that the king has given in order to honor the *thera* who has come as a visitor." The *thera*, who happily heard that news, cleaning the flower pedestal, smearing it with the scents, offering the flowers, standing at the four points [in worship], circumambulating [the Bodhi Tree], venerating it, and standing at the eastern gate, remained looking at the offering of flowers and evoking delight.

At that time the guard, going up to the *thera* and venerating at his resplendent feet, announcing, "Reverend! May you know that the perfumes and the one and one-half *yāḷa*s of jasmine flowers were sent as payment for the lump of clay that you placed in the king's relic shrine for the sake of merit. I venerate you on behalf of the king," he venerated him. The *thera*, who heard that speech, becoming unhappy, said, "Why have you destroyed the act of merit that I performed with great difficulty?" Then the guard, who heard those words, saying, "Reverend! Please do not think like that. Aside from the one and one-half *yāḷa*s of jasmine buds, even if the king had given that much gold flowers, it would not be worth the lump of clay you have given to build the relic shrine. Reverend! May you arouse serene joy in your mind," and having thus informed him, departed.[4]

Again, a *thera* who was residing at the Koṭasara Piyangalu Monastery was a close friend of the brick mason who was building the relic shrine. Therefore the *thera*, having come to the city, talking with the brick mason, measuring for himself the length, thickness, and width of the bricks for the relic shrine, went away. Then pressing and preparing the clay with his own hands, removing the pebbles, forming the clay, cutting the brick, drying and firing that brick, taking and putting it in the sack for his bowl, he returned to the city. On the following day, taking one of the king's bricks with one hand and a handful of flowers with the other

hand, he gave the king's brick along with his own brick. The brick mason accepted the bricks and used them in the work. At that time, the *thera*, thinking happily, "I myself have joined in the work of the Great Relic Shrine," proceeded to the Uḷugal Monastery.

Thereupon the king came to know of that deed done by the venerable one. The king, having heard that news, asked the brick mason, "Say! Has a *thera* placed a brick in my relic shrine without accepting payment from me?" And [the mason] announced, "It is true. Lord, because the *thera* gave a brick that was similar to our bricks, I used it in the work." "If that is the case, would you recognize the brick placed by that venerable one?" the king asked. Out of sympathy for the *thera*, the brick mason said, "Lord! I would not recognize the brick." Saying, "If you do not recognize the brick, point out the *thera* who placed the brick to this guard," [the king] stationed a guard near the brick mason. That brick mason, saying, "This is the *thera* who put in the lump of clay before," pointed that *thera* out to the guard.

At that time the guard, having identified the *thera*, going to the Uḷugal Monastery where he was residing, venerating at his resplendent feet, sitting on one side and exchanging friendly greetings, asked, "Reverend! Are you a visitor or a resident?" Then the *thera* said, "Lay devotee [*upāsaka*]! I am a visitor." "Reverend! In which district do you live?" he asked. He said to the guard, "I reside in the Piyangalu Monastery in Koṭasara, lay devotee." The lay devotee who heard those words, asked "Reverend! Will you reside right here or will you go to Koṭasara?" "I will not reside here, I will go on such and such a day," he said. The old guard who heard those words, addressed the *thera*, "I will come along with you, Sir. My village is also such and such a village in Koṭasara." And the *thera* said, "Very well. We will go together." Thereupon that old guard went to the king and informed him of that news. The king, hearing that news and saying, "Give this as payment to the *thera* who put in the brick without accepting payment," gave to the guard a pair of garments worth one thousand gold coins, a very costly blanket worth one thousand, a pair of sandals, an oil vessel filled with scented oil, a palm leaf umbrella, and the other requisites of a recluse.

Thereupon that guard, taking along those requisites given by the king, going to the Uḷugal Monastery where that *thera* was, venerating the *thera*, stayed the night there. Then setting off in the morning with him, traveling the road in due course, arriving in Koṭasara, seating him in a

comfortable spot with cool shade and where the Piyangalu Monastery was visible, washing his resplendent feet, rubbing his resplendent feet with the scented oil, feeding him sugarcane jaggery and serving cool water, and having put the pair of sandals on his resplendent feet, announcing, "Reverend! Although these requisites were taken for a *thera* known to me, now I offer them to you, Sir. Although this pair of garments was taken for the ceremony being held at my son's wedding, may you, Sir, make a robe from these," he set them at the *thera*'s feet. And the *thera*, putting that pair of garments and the very costly blanket in the sack for his bowl, making a bundle out of the other requisites, wearing the pair of sandals on his feet, holding the palm-leaf umbrella over his head, and taking the walking stick with his hand, set off toward the road.

At that time the guard, having gone a short distance with the *thera*, announcing, "Reverend, please wait a little. This is the road on which I am going," informed the *thera* of what the king had said in the very manner that he informed the *thera* who placed the lump of clay before.[5] At that time the *thera*, hearing the guard's speech, trembled with great sorrow and said, "The act of merit [*kuśalakarmaya*] that I did with difficulty at a wondrous relic shrine like this one is now undone." Then shedding streams of tears from his eyes, saying, "Why, lay devotee! Why have you ruined the merit that I did with difficulty? Take back your requisites," he threw aside all the requisites. That old guard, who was skillful and knew matters, announced thus to the *thera* who had thrown aside the requisites, "Reverend! What are you saying, Sir? Aside from the fact that this King Duṭugämuṇu is acting out of the strong desire for merit,[6] even if the three robes and bowls [were piled] up to the Akaniṭā *brahmā* world and given as payment for the brick that you placed, Sir, he is not able to make that [payment] equal the brick that you placed. Therefore, Sir, you earn merit from placing the brick. And the king earns merit from giving the requisites."[7] Thus speaking and consoling the *thera*, giving all the requisites to him, venerating at his resplendent feet, taking his leave, he turned and went back to the city.

It is said that innumerable beings did paid work like this on the relic shrine, aroused serene joy in their minds, and were reborn in the divine world from that merit. At that time a female deity who was reborn in the Tavutisā [Pāli: Tāvatiṃsa] heaven, happily considering her own divine prosperity that was unmatched, and while reflecting, "What act of merit did I do while in the human world to receive this prosperity?"

perceived the way in which she, having done paid work in the past at King Duṭugämuṇu's Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands with serene joy in her mind, obtained such prosperity. And becoming happy, she thought, "Without taking something that belongs to another, what would be the fruit of a well-performed act of merit done with the next world in mind and with something that belongs to oneself?" At that time the divine maiden, taking along divine perfumes, divine flowers, and divine cloth, coming that night, annointing that relic shrine with the perfumes that she brought, honoring that Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands with the fragrant flowers, continued venerating with joy.

At that time a *thera* named Mahāsīvalī who was residing at Bäḷavaka, while going to venerate the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands being built by the king, seeing that female deity who was venerating, and while standing at the foot of a large *attana* tree, venerating that female deity, and while asking her as she was leaving, spoke thus to the female deity. How did he speak? "This entire Laṅkādvīpa has become fully illumined by the radiance of your body, as if one thousand suns and one thousand moons have risen. What act of merit did you do in your past birth to obtain the great fortune of such beauty?" he asked. "Reverend! It is not merit that I did with an object of my own. Having aroused serene joy in my mind at this relic shrine from doing paid work, I obtained this prosperity," she declared.

Thus there is great benefit and great reward even in merit done for wages with a mind that is serenely joyful toward the Dispensation of the Buddha. Therefore, when one obtains such prosperity by merely arousing serene joy in one's mind toward the Fully Awakened Buddha, who is my Dear Lord, may virtuous persons who are knowledgeable always make offerings diligently to this Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands.

Thus the great King Duṭugämuṇu, while having the work done on the relic shrine, finished building the three-tiered terrace.[8] The *arahant*s caused the three-tiered terrace to sink by means of their own power, making it level with the ground to make it very firm.[9] While being built, it was made to sink nine times. Thereupon King Duṭugämuṇu, not knowing what caused this, having an unhappy mind, said, "Tell the Great Sangha, my family deity, to assemble," and dispatched his royal officials. At that time eighty thousand venerable ones assembled at the request of the royal officials. And the great King Duṭugämuṇu, being decorated with every ornament, bringing along perfumes, flowers, medicines,

and wholesome foods, and so on, going to the monastery accompanied by a large assembly, donating the medicines and wholesome foods to the eighty thousand venerable ones who assembled, making offerings with the perfumes and flowers, and standing on one side, asked, "Reverends! The three-tiered terrace for the Great Relic Shrine has sunk into the great earth nine times. I do not know whether this happening signifies a danger to my life or to the relic shrine that I am building. Please tell me," he said.

The Great Sangha, who heard that speech, spoke thus to the king, "Lord! There is no danger either to the work on the relic shrine or to your life. The *arahant*s have done this to prevent the dangers that could arise in the future from heretics and to ensure that the relic shrine lasts firmly for a long time," they declared. The king, who heard those words, while rejoicing with happiness, receiving the words that were spoken with the utmost respect, restarting the work on the Great Relic Shrine, finished building the three-tiered terrace with ten crores of bricks. Thus when the three-tiered terrace had been built, the Great Sangha, calling upon two *arahant* novices named Uttara and Sumana, spoke thus to the two venerable ones. "Go to the island of Uturukuru and bring back six fat-colored stones,[10] which are equal on their four sides, have a thickness of eight carpenter's cubits, and have a length of eighty cubits on each side," they said. At that time the two novices, having thus consented by saying "Very well," going to the Ututukuru island right then, fetching six fat-colored stones that were like the color of *baňduvada* flowers in just the way the Great Sangha had said, laying out one stone in the relic chamber of the relic shrine, arranging four other stones across the four sides, placed the other stone so as not to be seen near the wall of the sand courtyard east of the relic shrine in order to cover the relic chamber.

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu had an attractive Bodhi Tree built in the middle of the relic chamber out of the seven precious materials.[11] That Bodhi Tree was established on a floor made of blue sapphire gems. The roots of the Bodhi Tree were made of coral. He had the trunk made of silver. He had the *sirivasa* [mark] made out of gold.[12] He also had the Eight Auspicous Marks made out of the seven precious materials. Again, he had rows of flowers, rows of four-footed animals, and rows of swans beautifully made out of the seven precious materials. Moreover, that Bodhi Tree had a height of eighteen carpenter's cubits. These five major branches, namely, the major branch that went upward

and the major branches that went in the four directions of the Bodhi Tree, which was thus made out of the seven precious materials, were eighteen carpenter's cubits long. He had the *bō* leaves of that Bodhi Tree made out of blue sapphire gems. He had the pale-colored leaves made out of gold. He had a white canopy fixed above that Bodhi Tree. He had a netting of gold bells that were threaded in combination with pearls tied around the edge of that canopy. Again, a row of gold bells and gold chains were hanging in various places. He had four bundles of pearls worth nine hundred thousand [gold coins] hung at the four corners of that canopy. And both suns and moons, the stars of asterisms, and gold lotuses were made out of the seven precious materials each in the proper manner inside that relic chamber. And 1,008 very costly cloths composed of the five kinds of colors were hung.

Thereupon he also placed a retaining wall made of the seven precious materials around the base of that Bodhi Tree. On top of that retaining wall, he had very costly pearls the size of myrobalan fruits spread out. Adjacent to those piles of pearls he had rows of pots [made] of the seven precious materials and filled with scented water arranged. In the row of gold pots, he put flowers made of coral. In those pots made of coral, he put flowers made of gold. In the pots made of blue sapphire gems, he put flowers made of silver. In the pots made of silver, he put flowers made of blue sapphire gems. In the pots of the seven precious materials, he put flowers of the seven precious materials. Again, on the eastern side of that Bodhi Tree he had a seated Buddha image about the height of the living Buddha made out of the seven precious materials upon a seat made of the seven precious materials and worth a crore. He had the twenty fingernails and toenails and the white places in the pair of eyes on the Buddha image made out of crystal gems. He had the soles, the pair of lips, and the red places on the eyes made out of coral. Again, he had the head-hair, the pair of eyebrows, and the pupils in the eyes of that image made out of blue sapphire gems. Furthermore, he had the tuft of the hair-relic on the forehead of that image made out of silver.[13]

Thereupon in that place he had [an image of] the Great Brahmā Sahampatī made so that he stood holding the silver umbrella. Likewise in that place he had Śakra, king of the gods, who is the ruler for the gods of the two divine worlds, made so that he stood surrounded by the gods, blowing the Victory Conch [that has a length] of 120 cubits. Likewise in that place he had the Pañcaśikha deity made so that, having taking up the

vīṇā named Beluvapaṇḍu, he played music. And in that place he made the *nāga* king named Mahakeḷa, who shouted praise like a bard to the Buddha with diverse songs of praise, surrounded by many *nāga* maidens. Thereupon in that place too he had Vasavarti Māra made so that, having created one thousand arms, having taken up various weapons such as the trident and club, having sat on the back of the elephant Girimekhalā, who had a height of six hundred *gavu*s and was decked with one thousand frontal globes, and taking the ten troops in the Māra army, running toward the Bodhi Seat while displaying much horror, but not being able to cause any harm, he was vanquished and left. Having also made seats worth a crore and similar to the Bodhi Seat in the eastern direction, he had fans made of coral with an ivory handle placed in those seats in the other three directions.

He also had a silver bed that shone with various jewels and was worth a crore made in front of the Bodhi Tree. He had the depiction made out of the seven precious materials of the scene in which my Dear Lord—who has the Ten Physical Powers and the Ten Mental Powers—having become a world-transcending Buddha, not closing his eyes throughout seven days, made a *bodhi pūjā* with the five kinds of colors that emanated from them. And he had all these things[14]—namely, the scene where, having sat in the jeweled chamber, he reflected on the Dharma; the scene where he sat at the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree; the scene where he sat in the row of coils of the *nāga* king Mucalinda; the scene where he sat at the foot of the Kiripalu tree; the scene where he was given a lump of honeyed cake by the merchants, namely Tapassu and Bhalluka; and then the depiction where, having made the four bowls, which were donated by the Four Regent Deities into one bowl by his mental resolution, he received the lump of honeyed cake with that bowl; and then the depiction of setting forth the Wheel of Dharma at the invitation of the Great Brahmā; and the ordaining of the fifty-five persons who were headed by the noble son Yasa; and the ordaining of the thirty princes in the "Happy Band" [*bhadravarga*]; and the ordaining of the one thousand ascetics who were headed by the three fraternal, matted-hair ascetics; and the arrival of King Bimsara to the place where he was seated in the Laṭṭhīvana park; and the entering into the city of Rajagahā; and the depiction where he aceepted the Veḷuvana Park; and the Eighty Great Disciples, who were headed by the two chief disciples, and the five hundred venerable ones who were his constant companions—made out of the seven precious materials alone.

Following that he had the depiction in which [the Buddha], accompanied by twenty thousand persons from the two countries of Aṅgu and Magada, and from the city of Kiṁbulvat, having traveled the road of 250 *gavu*s, entered the city at the request of Kāḷudāyi, who lived in the city of Rajagahā; and [he had] the Śākya kings who [at first] stood and thought, "We will not venerate him," and [the Buddha] having seen them, overcoming their conceit and walking on the jeweled cloister-walk, and the venerating of the kings, including his father King Śuddhōdana, who saw that wonder; and the depiction of the "lotus shower"; and the ordaining of Prince Rāhula; and the ordaining of Prince Nanda; and the accepting of the Jētavana Park; and the Twin Miracle that was performed at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba tree; and the scene in which, having gone from that jeweled cloister-walk to the Tavutisā heaven by three footsteps, sitting in Śākra's throne, he preached the Abhidharma in three months; and the depiction in which, having accepted the request of the people, going to the underside of the Great Mount Meru, the Mahāthera Mugalan [Pāli: Mogallana], splitting the Great Meru, raising his head at [the Buddha's] resplendent feet, circumambulating him, declared the requests of the people; and the miracle called the Descent from the Divine World; and the depiction where he entered the gate of Sakaspura; and the scene where the Mahāthera Säriyut, the Dharma General, asked him questions, [all] made in that place.

Again, he had the preaching of *sūtra*s such as the preaching of the Mahāsamaya Sūtra, the preaching of the Rāhulovāda Sūtra, the preaching of the Maṅgla Sūtra, the preaching of the Tirokuḍḍa Sūtra, the preaching of the Khadiraṅgāra Sūtra, the preaching of the Jambukājīvaka Sūtra, and the preaching of the Cakka Sūtra, as well as the taming of the elephant Dhanapāla, the taming of Ālavaka, the taming of Aṅgulimāla, the taming of Baka Brahmā, the taming of Saccaka, and the taming of Porisāda made out of the seven precious materials alone.

Then he had the depiction of [the time] when the Buddha relinquished his life-aggregate to Māra; and the scene where he accepted the soft pig meat;[15] and the scene where he accepted the pair of golden garments; and the scene where he partook of the clear water; and the scene in the city of Kusinārā where, having lain down on the bed that was arranged in the middle of two *sal* trees, which blossomed from the roots up to the tips (of their branches), putting his head toward the northern direction, putting his feet toward the southern direction, putting his back

toward the eastern direction, and putting his face toward the western direction, and not rising up from the bed, he passed away in *parinirvāṇa*; and the scene where the Mahāthera Ānanda went to the city of Kusinārā and told the sixty thousand Malla kings that the Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa* in the early morning; and the scene where the kings along with the harem women who heard that speech fell down and wept with their hands on their heads; and the scene where [the Buddha] was carried to the gold vat; and the scene where the gods, *brahmā*s, and people paid homage to him; and the scene where they carried the gold vat to the sandalwood funeral pyre of twenty cubits; and the depiction in which the leaders of the orders, including the Mahāthera Mahasup, and the remaining Great Sangha including seven hundred thousand *mahāthera*s, were venerating the resplendent feet of the Buddha when his body was burned; and the scene where the cremation ground was cleared; and the depiction in which King Ajātaśatru, the ruler of the Magadha country, first heard the news that the Buddha had passed away in *parinirvāṇa*; and the depiction in which, having admonished the kings of the seven countries who came prepared for war, the relics were distributed by the brahmin Droṇa, made out of the seven precious materials alone.[16]

Furthermore, he had the Five Hundred and Fifty *Jātaka* stories made there also. From the Vessantara Jātaka, he had [depicted] the great King Saňda [Pāli: Sañjaya], Queen Phusati, Madradēvī, Prince Jāliya, and Kṛṣṇajinā; and the depiction in which he gave the gift of the elephant Häli; and the depiction of the great gift of the seven hundreds and the manner in which, setting off from the city, he looked back at the city; and the depiction in which he gave the four horses to the four brahmins who came, and the depiction in which the gods were ordered by Śakra to assume the appearance of *rōhita* deer and pull the chariot; and again the depiction in which he gave the chariot to the brahmins who came; and the depiction in which, while carrying the two children on the journey they were taking, the children—having seen various kinds of fruit and begging for some—raised and pointed their fingers; and the scene where the trees that bore fruit bent over like a bow, and plucking various sweet fruits from it, he gave them to the children; and the scene where they stayed in a hall in the Cetiya country; and the depiction in which Madridēvī was alone on the road; and the scene where the inhabitants of the city, having seen Madridēvī, wept and said, "What is this helpless journey?" and the depiction in which the sixty thousand kings in Cetiya who

heard that story [of his], having come to the hall, weeping at the feet of the Bodhisattva, being allayed, and continuing to venerate [him], invited him to go to their city; and the scene where the kings—having decorated that hall like a divine mansion, and because he did not accept [their invitation], having bathed the Bodhisattva and washed his head, changed his clothes and dressed him, fed him excellent royal food, and hosted him in their city for seven days—cut a clearing in the great forest, and at the time the sixty thousand kings and the Bodhisattva set off with their swords and shields, traveling about sixty *gavu*s on the path, and relating the signs of the path about sixty *gavu*s away from the Vaṅkagiri Mountain, venerating the Bodhisattva, stationing a bowman at the entrance of the forest, took their leave to go to their own kingdoms—[all] made out of the seven precious materials in that relic chamber.

In addition, that great King Duṭugämuṇu had all these things, such as the depiction in which [Viśvantara] gave away his gold hairpin when the archer who stood at the forest entrance, having seen the Bodhisattva coming, gave him honey and game meat; and the bank of the lake named Mucalinda, and the scene where he came to the Vaṅkagiri Mountain; and the scene where, having assumed the appearance of an ascetic along with his wife and children, he stayed in a leaf hut; and the scene where Madridēvī did all manners of work, collecting various kinds of fruit, feeding them, sweeping the yard, arranging tooth-cleaning sticks and water, and picking flowers for them to offer; and the scene where the brahmin named Jūjaka came to the city of Jayaturā at the insistance of his brahmin wife Amittatāpā and inquired after the Bodhisattva; and the depiction in which the citizens who heard that, said, "Won't you stop taking more alms?" took up sticks and clubs, and chased him [away]; and the depiction in which the brahmin set off from the north gate and ran along the road going toward the Vaṅkagiri Mountain by the power of the gods; and the depiction in which the hunting dogs of the bowman who stood at the forest entrance saw the brahmin and surrounded him; and the scene where the bowman came and had the brahmin climb down from the tree; and the scene where he described the path to the brahmin who set off, having eaten honey and game meat and having drunk water; and the scene where the brahmin came to the leaf hut of an ascetic named Accuta; and the scene where the ascetic described the path to Vaṅkagiri to the brahmin, who set off the next day; and the scene where on that day, it became late while going on the way, and he slept on a high mound; and

the scene where Madradēvī saw a bad dream, went to the leaf hut of the Bodhisattva, wept, and told him of the dream she saw; and then the scene where the Bodhisattva analyzed the dream, became happy, consoled Madridēvī, and sent her away; and the scene where she, when morning came, did her duties and observances, fed the Bodhisattva and her two children various kinds of fruit, admonished the two children, entrusted them to the Bodhisattva, venerated [him], and took her leave, and having taken things such as a hooked pole for picking various fruits, an iron spade for digging up yams and roots, and a basket, propitiated the gods, and went into the forest; and the scene where thereupon the brahmin Jūjaka came to the leaf hut; and the scene where Prince Jāliya saw that brahmin and went up to take the requisites from his hands out of respect; and the scene where the brahmin became angry; and the scene where then Prince Jāliya, trembling with fear, hid behind the Bodhisattva; and the scene where then the brahmin went up to the Bodhisattva, praised him, and requested the children as alms; and the scene where the great Bodhisattva who heard those words, said, "Very well, Brahmin. I will give alms. Take the children," and the two siblings who heard his words went away to a pond and hid out of fear; and the scene where the Bodhisattva followed the marks of the children's footprints, stood on the bank of the pond, and called out to the children; and the scene where the children who heard that call walked out and fell crying on his feet; and the scene where he carried them along, stated their [inestimable] worth,[17] and gave the children as alms to the brahmin; and the scene where then the two children, having been bound, set off while continuing to look back at the Bodhisattva; and the scene where at the opportunity when the brahmin stumbled and fell, they broke the bonds that tied their hands, came running back, and fell crying at their father's feet; and the scene where again the brahmin came back, bound the children, and went; and the scene where Madridēvī, who went looking for various fruits, having seen bad signs while in the forest, was not able to return to the leaf hut on the journey back because three gods assumed the forms of a lion, a tiger, and a bear at the command of Śakra and lay down to block the path;[18] and the scene where Madridēvī, who was unable to go to that leaf hut until after they departed, then went to the leaf hut when the moon had risen at night, but did not see her children where they normally played, and with a mind that shrank from the sorrow which filled her heart, went up to the Bodhisattva and asked the king, "Where are the children, Lord?"

and because the king did not reply, Madridēvī searched rocks and hills throughout the night, but did not see her children, and fell at the Bodhisattva's feet out of sorrow that filled her heart and with tears that filled her eyes like a hen seized by a dog; and the scene where then he put her head in his lap, sprinkled water on her face, and caressed her with his hand; and the scene where she regained her senses, stood up and asked about the children, and hearing that he gave them away as alms, put both hands on her head, said, "Why did you not tell me right away that you gave them as alms, Lord?" and venerated him happily;[19] and the scene where Śakra assumed the form of a brahmin and received Madridēvī as alms; and the scene where again he handed Madridēvī over to the Bodhisattva; and the scene where the brahmin Jūjaka tied the two children to the foot of a tree, climbed up into the tree, and slept; and the scene where the brahmin mistook the path by the power of the gods, came to the city of Jayaturā, and took the children and showed them to the great King Saňda, who was their grandfather; and the scene where he gave various riches to the brahmin and freed the grandchildren; and the scene where again the great King Saňda came to Vaṅkagiri Mountain; and the scene where the cluster rain fell on the great congregation [including] the two children and his relatives; and the scene where both King Viśvantara and Madridēvī were consecrated [as king and queen]; and the scene where, when they came into the city of Jayaturā, a rain consisting of the seven precious materials fell; and the scene where, having passed away from that existence as Viśvantara, he was born in the Tuṣita abode—[all] made in detail out of the seven precious materials in that relic chamber.[20]

Thereupon he had all these things, namely, the depiction in which he was requested to become a Buddha by the gods of the ten thousand world realms; and the depiction in which, by their request, he took conception in the womb of the mother; and the depiction in which two streams of water came from the sky and bathed the Bodhisattva and his mother; and the scene where at that very moment he stood and took seven steps toward the northern direction; and the depiction in which his two small feet were fixed upon the matted hair of the ascetic Kāḷadēvala; and again the depiction in which he observed the carelessness of the wet nurses, crossed his legs in the seated posture in that shade, and sat absorbed in meditation, [all] made out of the seven precious materials in the relic chamber.

Thereupon he had these many things, namely, Queen Yaśodharā, who was the mother of Prince Rāhula, Prince Rāhula, the Four Great Treasures;

and the three palaces that were suited for the three seasons; and the scene when in his twenty-ninth year, while on the journey going for the sake of sporting in the park, he stopped and saw the three divine messengers of the old figure, the sick figure, and the dead figure; and the scene where, on the fourth time, he saw the figure of a monk, thought that renunciation is good, went to the park in prosperity, bathed in the royal pond in the evening, and was adorned by the deity Viśvakarma as he sat on the royal stone slab; and the scene where thereupon, in the middle of the night, having seen the transformation of the dancers, he ascended upon the back of the majestic horse Kanthaka and made the Great Departure; and the scene where he enjoyed the offerings made by the gods of the ten thousand world-realms and was ordained [into asceticism] on the bank of the Anomā River, while the majestic horse Kanthaka grieved; and the scene where he went to receive alms in the city of Rajagahā and ate the alms; and the scene where King Bimsara came and invited him with [an offer of] the kingdom; and the depiction in which he accepted the milk-rice that was offered by a wealthy householder's daughter named Sujātā while at the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree; and the depiction in which he ate that milk-rice while at the bank of the Nerañjarā River; and the depiction in which he sent the bowl upstream; and the depiction in which he spent the midday rest in the forest; and the depiction in which he received the *kusa* grass that was given by the brahmin Sotthīya; and the depiction in which he shook and spread that [grass] out; and the scene where he ascended the Diamond Seat of fourteen cubits, which had burst up through the great earth, put his back against the trunk of the Bodhi Tree, looked east, and sat crossing his legs—[all] made in detail out of the seven precious materials.

Thereupon he had all these things, namely, the scene where the *thera*s, including the Mahāthera Mihiňdu, came to Mihintalā and received the Mahamevunā Park from King Devanapātissa; and the scene where he donated sixty-eight caves at the Mihintalā Rock and had drip-ledges carved; and the scene where the four regent deities stood guard with swords—[all] made out of the seven precious materials.

Thereupon he had the thirty-two deities made there.[21] He had female deities who stood holding lamps made like creepers. Then he had twenty-eight *yakkha* generals made there.[22] Again, that great King Duṭugämuṇu had all these things, namely, gods who were placing both hands on their heads [in reverence]; and gods who were holding gold flowers; and gods who were holding gold water pots; and gods who were holding jeweled

water pots; and deities who were dancing; and deities who were beating drums; and deities who were holding musical instruments; and deities who were holding sun disks; and deities who were holding moon disks; and deities who were holding gold lotuses; and deities who were holding silver lotuses; and deities who were holding flowered archways; and deities who were holding parasols; and deities who were colorfully dressed wrestlers; and deities who were twirling cloths above their heads; and deities who were holding Dharma wheels; and deities who were holding swords; and deities who stood placing on their heads bowls of lamps that had a height of five cubits, that were filled with fragrant flowers and were burning wicks of fine cloth—[all] made out of the seven precious materials in the relic chamber.

Thereupon, having had four festooned columns made of crystal built in the four corners in that relic chamber, he had four large gems the size of *tiyaṁbarā* fruits placed on top of those four festooned columns. Again, he had four piles of these said precious materials, namely, gold, silver, pearls, gems, coral, and diamonds, made in the four corners of that relic chamber. Thereupon he had diamond creepers made on the four walls of fat-colored stone. Again, he had gold creepers and whisk-fans made here and there out of the seven precious materials alone. Again, that great King Duṭugämuṇu had all these things, such as *nāga* maidens holding blue water lily flowers and *nāga* maidens holding *ḳaḍupul* flowers, made out of solid gold, five cubits in height. And the remaining offerings in array were made out of the seven precious materials. These articles of worship described in that relic chamber cannot be calculated. How was this so?

While a *thera* named Cittagutta, who lived in Aṁbapahaṇa, was delivering a sermon in the middle of twelve thousand people who had gathered on the ground floor in the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion, having begun the Rathavinīta Sūtra, and while describing the great relic deposit, thinking that "Perhaps some people in the audience who are seated and listening to this sermon will not believe this array of offerings that this great King Duṭugämuṇu made," spoke [only] of a portion of the array of offerings. At that time, a *thera* named Tissa, who was residing on the Koṭasara Mountain in Guthala, sitting in a spot not far from the Dharma seat, said to the *thera* who was the Dharma preacher, "Brother! There are things you have omitted from your address. Speak without holding [anything] back!"

Again, in this Lakdiva, a king named Bhātiya, who was the tenth [king] after Duṭugämuṇu, had great faith.[23] He had a mind that was serenely joyful toward the Triple Gem. In the evening and morning he would not eat his food until he venerated and made offerings to the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands. That King Bhātiya, having two screens made out of fine cloth beginning from the pinnacle [*ḳotḳäralla*] to the base; diverting revenue brought to his treasury from the inhabitants of Laṅkādvīpa; having the ground dug up to four *gavu*s on each side of the city; planting gardens of *idda* flowers and gardens of jasmine flowers,[24] and at the time when the flowers were all blossoming in those flower gardens, bringing forth the sandalwood that had been stored in the treasury, smearing sandalwood paste that had a thickness of about four finger-breadths beginning from the three-tiered terrace up to the pinnacle, having had flowers placed closely stem by stem;[25] having decorated that Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, 120 cubits in height, in this manner like a crown of flowers, fetching water from the Tisā Tank with a device for carrying water [*jalayantrayen*];[26] sprinkling water on the top of the pinnacle, and making offerings in this manner for one week; pouring out an abundance of flowers from hundreds and thousands of baskets from the four gates of the relic shrine up to the pinnacle, covering that Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, 120 cubits in height, in this way; making a great heap of flowers, and sprinkling the water from the device for carrying water, and making offerings in this manner for one week—thereupon that King Bhātiya, who had great merit, burning one hundred cartloads of pearls that were stored in the treasury, mixing the powdered pearl, had a whitewash applied over the relic shrine.

Thereupon, having a coral net made out of precious materials, covering the relic shrine of 120 cubits, offering gold lotuses the size of cart wheels at each junction, decorating them with clusters of pearls, he made offerings in that way for one week. Thereupon he had a rain of perfumes poured around the relic shrine. He had a rain of scented water poured for one week.[27] He had a rain of yellow orpiment paste poured for one week. He had sandalwood paste poured for one week. When the rain of sandalwood paste was spread there in the stone-paved courtyard of the relic shrine, settling up to the calf of one's leg, he had offerings made with blue water lily flowers for seven days. In that very manner, filling the courtyard of the relic shrine with scented paste, spreading a netted mat on top of that, having had blue water lily flowers placed upon the holes in that

mat, he had offerings made in this manner for one week. Thereupon, covering the drains in the courtyard of the relic shrine, bringing the oil that was stored in the treasury, having the courtyard filled, making the middle of the three-tiered terrace disappear, he made offerings with cow ghee for seven days. Likewise he made offerings with *mī* oil for seven days. Likewise he made offerings with just sesame oil for one week. Every year he gave wealth equaling his weight to the Triple Gem of the Buddha-Gem, the Dharma-Gem, and the Sangha-Gem.[28]

One day while King Bhātiya, hearing a law case that had been presented incorrectly in court, was mediating and giving a judgment, it became very late in the evening. At that time the king, who rose and went to eat his food without remembering to venerate the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, sat down and took a bite of food in his hand. But before putting it in his mouth, he asked those people standing nearby, "Did I or didn't I venerate my Grandfather [*muttaṇuvan vahansē*] today?" That is the way it was. In the past, kings would refer to the Buddha as "Our Grandfather."[29] The people who heard those words declared, "Lord! You did not venerate the relic shrine today." At that time, dropping the lump of food from his hand into the gold dish, rising up, and having the southern gate opened, coming to the monastery, ascending to the courtyard by the eastern entrance, and while venerating the relic shrine, he heard the sound of *arahant*s who were inside the relic chamber reciting the Doctrine [*baṇa*] and circumambulating.[30] And in order to check that out, King Bhātiya, stationing men at the four gateways, walking around the relic shrine himself, [but] not seeing them, asking the men who stood guard and realizing that the sound of reciting the doctrine was not on the outside, ascertaining that [they were] inside the relic chamber, and lying down facing the relic shrine near the gate in the east, that king, making an offering of his life by saying, "I will not rise up unless I see the recital of the doctrine inside the relic chamber," lay down very resolutely.

By the power of that king's virtue, the seat of Śakra, king of the gods, became warm. Thereupon Śakra, king of the gods, having directed his thousand eyes of knowledge, and while looking at the human world, seeing that cause, came from the divine world, entered into the relic chamber, and announced thus to the *thera*s who were reciting the doctrine: "Reverends! This King Bhātiya is righteous and has serene joy toward the Triple Gem. Therefore that king, having heard the sound of the

reciting of the doctrine inside the relic chamber, made a resolution, saying, 'I will not rise up unless I see the relic chamber,' and has lain down. Reverends! If that king does not see the relic chamber, he will die in that very spot. May you bring him into the interior and show him the relic chamber," he said.

The *arahant*s who heard those words, directing a *thera* to display the relic chamber out of compassion for the king, said, "Bring King Bhātiya and have him venerate inside the relic chamber." Then the *thera*, saying, "Very well," coming out, taking the hand of the king who had lain down, taking him into the interior of the relic chamber, having that king venerate according to his pleasure, and when he had observed everything inside the relic chamber, sent him outside. That King Bhātiya, going to the royal palace, having had miniature gold figures made after the images he saw in the relic chamber, setting up a great pavilion in the courtyard of the royal palace, arranging those figures by rows, and gathering the citizens, said to everyone, "These are like the images I saw in the relic chamber." Since they were made in imitation of those images in the relic chamber, they were called the "replica figures" [*niyāmaka rū*]. Every year that king, bringing forth those figures from the treasury and arranging them in the pavilion, displayed them to the citizens. On the first day when he displayed those figures, the citizens became serenely joyful, took one child from each family, and had them ordained. Then thinking, "There are many among the great assembly of monks who have not seen these figures. I will speak to the Great Sangha," and going to the monastery, assembling the monastic community on the bottom floor in the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion, venerating the Sangha, the king sat himself on the seat, spoke throughout the three watches [of the night] of the revered offerings he had seen in the relic chamber, and descended from the seat, being unable to finish.

A monk who was seated in that assembly asked the king, "Lord! Having eaten your lunch and come before noon, you were unable to finish describing the relic chamber throughout the three watches [of the night]. Are there still more offerings that you have not described?" King Bhātiya replied, "What are you saying? Reverend, I could not relate even as much as one-tenth of those offerings in the relic chamber to you, Sir. But, Reverend, I have described only what I have observed. Reverend! The objects of worship in the relic chamber are endless."[31] When one cannot pile together the entire mass of objects of worship in the relic

chamber that measures about eighty cubits on each side, what can be said when they are arranged in a manner appropriate for each one? Let alone the relic chamber, one cannot even pile them together up to the edge of the outer wall in the sand courtyard of the Great Relic Shrine. Therefore, how were all those objects of worship deposited in that relic chamber? Therein, it should be said that [the answer] was related by the ancients.

A *thera* of Nugapiṭa named Mahāsīva, who had memorized the Tripiṭaka [Pāli: Tipiṭaka], having sat in the royal palace, and while delivering the Sīhanāda Sūtra of the Ten-powered One to the king,[32] expounded on the relic deposit and concluded the *sūtra*. And the king declared thus to the *thera*, "Reverend! The relic chamber has four equal sides. It is eighty cubits by eighty in length. Who would believe that there are these many offerings in this [relic shrine]?" Then the *thera* asked, "Lord! On the day our Buddha was preaching the Śakrapraśna sermon in the Indraśālā Cave,[33] what was the extent of the assembly of gods who descended into the crowd and gathered in that cave? Have you heard?" The king, who heard those words said, "Reverend! I hear that the gods of the two divine worlds were there." Then the *thera* said, "Great King, it ought to be believed because of that."[34]

The king, who heard those words declared, "Reverend! Was it not due to the psychic powers of the deities?" Thereupon the *thera* said, "Lord! It was due to the divine psychic powers of the deities at that time, wasn't it? But as for this, [the offerings] were established due to the psychic powers of King Duṭugämuṇu, who made the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands,[35] the psychic powers of the *arahant*s, and the psychic powers of the deities." The king, having heard the words of the *thera*, saying, "Very well, Reverend," and having thus agreed, offered the white parasol to the Triple Gem and had it set up in the monastery.[36] And the *thera*, fixing the white parasol that had been offered to him on the pinnacle of the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, made offerings with jasmine flowers for seven days. This great King Duṭugämuṇu had great power because he fulfilled the perfections during one incalculable world period and one hundred thousand eons. Therefore, the psychic powers of the king ought to be understood thus.

Because it was built after the deity Viśvakarma entered the body of the brick mason by the order of Śakra, king of the gods, one ought to understand this when it is said, "His divine psychic powers." Although the Mahāthera Indagutta was directing the minor and major work being

done, it was not only [this] *thera* alone. Since all the *arahant*s made efforts in the tasks they themselves did, it ought to be understand that it was firmly done by these three psychic powers. That is also stated in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The Mahāthera Indagutta, who attained the Six Higher Knowledges and had great power, directed and completed the work on this relic shrine.

The Account of the Description of the Relic Chamber is finished.

12

THE RELIC DEPOSIT

Thus the great King Duṭugämuṇu, completing the work on the relic chamber, went to the monastery on the fourteenth day of the lunar month and requested, "Let the Great Sangha assemble!" At that time thirty thousand venerable ones assembled. Then King Duṭugämuṇu venerated the Great Sangha and announced, "Reverends! I have finished doing the requisite work on the relic chamber. I will enshrine the relics tomorrow on the full-moon day of the month of Äsaḷa under the Uturusaḷa asterism. Therefore, may the venerable ones acquire the relics for me." And thus having assigned the task to the Great Sangha, he returned to his city.

Thereupon the monastic community, while looking for an able venerable one to bring the relics, seeing the *arahant* novice Soṇuttara, who was sixteen years of age and was residing in the Puda Monastery, summoned him and said, "Soṇuttara! The great King Duṭugämuṇu has done the work on the relic chamber and has assigned the task of bringing the relics to the Great Sangha. Therefore may you bring the relics." The novice, who heard what the Great Sangha said, then asked, "Reverends! I will bring the relics. Where are the relics?" The Great Sangha replied, "Soṇuttara! Our Buddha, having lain down for the final time on the bed arranged in the middle of the two *sal* trees in the city of Kusinārā, called upon Śakra, king of the gods, and said, 'About one *droṇa* of my relics that measure about eight *droṇa*s will be venerated by the Koliya kings. In the

future that *droṇa* of relics will be established in a relic shrine named "Golden Garlands" in Laṅkādvīpa.' When the Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa*, the brahmin teacher Droṇa made eight portions of relics and distributed them to the kings of eight kingdoms.

"Those kings, making offerings and paying homage to them according to their own abilities, conducting the relics [back to their kingdoms], had relic shrines built. Of those relic shrines, a great flood destroyed the one built by the Koliya kings in Rāmagrāma. The relic casket, shining with the six-colored rays, entered the sea and came to rest on top of the golden sand. At that time *nāga*s in the *nāga* realm called Māñjerika, seeing the relic casket, went and informed the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa. The *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, having come accompanied by ten crores of *nāga*s, showing reverence and making great offerings with perfumes and flowers, raising gold flags, silver flags, pearl flags, coral flags, gem flags, and flags of the seven precious materials, showing reverence and making great offerings with the sound of the five kinds of instruments, placing the relic casket in a casket of blue sapphire gems, carrying it on his head, and taking the relics away to the *nāga* realm with great offerings and reverence, offering ninety-six crores of wealth to the relics, having a relic house built with the seven precious materials, establishing the relics in that relic house, showed reverence and made offerings.

"Again, the Mahāthera Mahasup, while arranging for King Ajāsat to enshrine the relics, left the relics in Rāmagrāma aside, but removed the relics in the other seven countries and gave them to the king. That King Ajāsat, not seeing the relics from Rāmagrāma, asked, 'Reverend! Why weren't the relics at Rāmagrāma brought?' At that time, he informed the king, 'Lord! There is no danger to those relics at Rāmagrāma from heretics. In the future, those relics will be established in a great relic shrine called "Golden Garlands" in Laṅkādvīpa.'

"Again, King Dharmāśoka, unearthing the relic deposit that King Ajāsat had made, while looking at the relics, seeing seven *droṇa*s of relics, but not seeing the eighth *droṇa* of relics, asked the Sangha, 'Reverends! Where is the other *droṇa* of relics?' The *arahant*s replied, 'Lord! When a great flood destroyed the relic shrine, the relics that were established in the shrine built by the Koliya kings entered into the great sea, [remaining] in the relic casket that had been placed in the relic chamber. The *nāga*s saw that relic casket, took it along to the *nāga* realm called Māñjerika, gave it to the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, and are making offerings [to the relics],' they

said. King Dharmāśoka, who heard those words, venerated the Great Sangha and announced, 'Reverends! If it is the *nāga* realm, my [sphere of] command exists [there too]. I will have the relics brought.' The *arahant*s addressed the king, 'Lord! In the future a king named Duṭugämuṇu in Laṅkādvīpa will establish those relics in the relic shrine called "Golden Garlands." Therefore there is no purpose in having those relics brought.' They thus prevented him [from doing so]."

The *arahant*s then continued, "Therefore Soṇuttara, going to the *nāga* realm called Māñjerika, relating this account to the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, fetch the relics for the enshrining of the relics tomorrow." The novice Soṇuttara, who heard that speech, said, "Very well," and went to the Puda Monastery where he was residing. The great King Duṭugämuṇu returned to the city and sent the drum around proclaiming, "Tomorrow I will enshrine the relics in the relic shrine. Therefore let the citizens adorn themselves in accordance with their wealth, take along perfumes, flowers, and so on, and assemble in the courtyard."

Thereupon Śakra, king of the gods, summoned the deity Viśvakarma and directed thus: "Tomorrow the relics will be enshrined in the Great Relic Shrine. Go and decorate all of Laṅkādvīpa in a special manner," he ordered. On the following day, Viśvakarma made all the pits, hills, and mountains vanish in Laṅkādvīpa, which measures about ninety-nine leagues, so that it was even like the face of a drum. Then spreading sand resembling a silver sheet, decorating it with flowers of five colors, setting up rows of filled pots on all sides, drawing a curtain around all of Lakdiva, fixing a canopy on top, displaying lotuses on the surface of the earth, lotuses in the water, and lotuses that hung suspended in the sky, he decorated it like the divine Sudharmā Hall, which is decorated magnificently. The waves in the great ocean subsided and became sweet, cool water like a large pot of buffalo milk into which jaggery is added and boiled. That ocean also became decorated with the five kinds of lotuses. By the power of my Buddha's relics, the interior of the entire world-realm was decorated like the day when the Buddha arose in his mother's womb and like the day he became a Buddha.

Thereupon the citizens, gathering according to the king's royal decree, sweeping and removing the dirt from the royal road, spreading white sand resembling crushed pearls and the five ceremonial flowers, and so on, raising flags and banners that were shining with various colors, setting up filled water pots, and constructing rows of banana-tree archways,

flowered archways, cloth archways, and festooned columns of flowers and festooned columns of lamps, they decorated the city. At that time King Duṭugämuṇu had sweet food; several varieties of food; and eighteen varieties of drink such as bee honey, sugarcane juice, the juice of the young coconut, and the juice of *äṭa* bananas, and so on; and fragrant, cool drinks; and flowers and perfumes; cloths and ornaments; and chews of betel accompanied by the five breath-freshening ingredients set up at the four gateways for the sake of feeding poor people.

Thereupon that great King Duṭugämuṇu, bathing with sixteen pots of scented water in the morning, dressing in golden clothes, adorned with the sixty-four ornaments, eating sweet food, ascending into a splendid chariot that was yoked with four horses that were like the color of white water lilies, putting the decorated elephant Kaḍol in front of the chariot into which he had climbed, and placing the gold casket on his head, stood under the white parasol. At that instant sixteen thousand queens and great numbers of women who were adorned with diverse kinds of ornaments and who resembled the goddesses of Śakra, king of the gods, set off accompanying the king. Following them, all of these said persons, namely, the Ten Great Warriors beginning with Nandimitra, about 11,100 soldiers, the Fourfold Army, short and hunch-backed persons,[1] and royal officials, set off accompanying the king. Again, 1,008 men and 1,008 women, taking up caskets of flowers, lighted torches, and flags and banners in the five colors, accompanied the king.

On that day the great King Duṭugämuṇu, endowed with royal splendor, set off toward the site of the relic deposit like Śakra, king of the gods, who started out on a journey to the Nandana Grove. At that time dancers and singers had set off in front of the king. The noise from these sounds, such as the sound of *bhṛṅga vīṇā*s, *nakula vīṇā*s, *dadara vīṇā*s, *brahma vīṇā*s, cymbals, *rasutālaṁ*, *samuttālaṁ*, and *hastatālaṁ*, and drums such as the *däduru* drum, *panā* drum, *gäṭa* drum, *rōda* drum, *maha* drum, *eḳäs* drum, *loho* drum, *talappara*, *vīrandaṁ*, *tammättaṁ*, *nisāṇa*, *samudraghoṣā*, *raṇaraṅgaghoṣā*, *ḍäkḳi*, *uḍäkḳi*, *ḍaura*, and the *saḳ pañca*, and from these horns such as the gold conch, silver conch, jeweled conch, *tälisaḳ*, *ḳarasaḳ*, *yuvalasaḳ*, *daḳuṇusaḳ*, *ransinnaṁ*, *ridīsinnaṁ*, *ruvansinnaṁ*, *randārā*, *ridīdārā*, *ruvandārā*, *daḷadārā*, *daḷahaṁ*, *lōhaṁ*, *gavarahaṁ*, *vijayoddhavani*, *ottu*, *tantiri*, and the *paṭasirivili*, and from the trumpeting of elephants and the neighing of horses, and from the sound of the rims on chariot wheels, and from the powerful sound that struck like the sound of a thunderbolt—[all]

reverberated like the noise of the ocean near the Yugandhara Mountain, as if the earth had split apart.

At that time the sixteen-year-old novice Soṇuttara, who was residing in the Puda Monastery, hearing the sound of the drums when King Duṭugämuṇu set off to enshrine the relics in the relic shrine, entering into the fourth meditative trance that forms the basis for the Higher Knowledges, splitting open the great earth and diving into the earth like a cormorant diving into the water, appeared in the *nāga* realm Māñjerika in front of the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa. At that time the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, seeing the novice who was standing in front of him, quickly rising from his seat, venerating at his resplendent feet, washing his feet with scented water, making offerings to him with perfumes and flowers, and conversing with him in a friendly manner, sat down on one side and asked, "Reverend! From where have you come to our *nāga* realm?" The novice Soṇuttara said to the *nāga* king, "Great King! I have come from Laṅkādvīpa." The *nāga* king asked the novice, "Reverend! Why have you come from Laṅkādvīpa to my *nāga* realm?" And replying to the *nāga* king, he said, "The great King Duṭugämuṇu who rules Lakdiva built a relic shrine called 'Golden Garlands' and assigned the task of enshrining the relics to the Great Sangha. About thirty thousand monks who reside in the Great Monastery and who heard that news from the king assembled in one place and told me, 'Novice! About a *droṇa* of relics kept for this Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, which the great King Duṭugämuṇu is building, remains with the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa. Therefore, go up to that king, tell him of this account that all of us have related, and bring the relics,' and thus having spoken, they sent me to you. I have come before you because of that."

The *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, hearing the words that the novice spoke, feeling tremendous sorrow as if being crushed by a mountain, thought, "We thought that by showing reverence and making offerings to these relics, we would become liberated from this animal state and experience the prosperity of the divine world in the future. This novice Soṇuttara has great strength in psychic powers. Therefore if this venerable one were to see the relics in this relic shrine, he would be able to overwhelm us and take them away. Therefore it would be good if I removed the relics from the relic house without giving them to this venerable one." Then seeing his nephew Vāsuladatta, who stood at the edge of the assembly of *nāga*s, and making a gesture to him, he gave a signal to hide the relics. At that

time his nephew Vāsuladatta, seeing the sign that his uncle made, going to the relic house and taking the relic casket out, swallowing it, and going to the base of the Great Meru Mountain, lay down and assumed the form of a large *nāga*. How was that? Having created many thousands of hoods, which had a circumference of four hundred *gavu*s and a length of twelve hundred *gavu*s, the lordly *nāga* who had great psychic powers, while blazing with fire and posionous smoke next to the Great Meru Mountain, winding his coils and reclining on the golden sand, lay down surrounded by many thousands of serpents resembling him. At that time many deities, *nāga*s, and *suparṇa*s gathered there, saying, "Let us see who will win and who will lose in the battle between the novice Soṇuttara, a son of the Omniscient One who is a noble person and who gives his life over to moral conduct, and the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa."

Thereupon the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa, realizing that his nephew had hidden the relics away, announced to the novice, "Reverend! I have no relics with me. Therefore, without wasting time in this *nāga* realm, may you go quickly and tell this to the monks. That being the case, the Great Sangha will seek the relics from another place." The novice, who heard those words, narrating the way in which the relics had come to the *nāga* king from the beginning, as the Great Sangha told him, said, "The relics are surely with you. Give them without delay." Then the *nāga* king, who heard what the novice said, thinking, "This venerable one has great power. It would be fitting to send him away by some means without giving the relics to him," and inviting the novice along, going to the relic house, he showed the relic house [*dāgeya*] that sparkled with the seven precious materials and likewise the relic shrine of the seven precious materials [contained] in the relic house to the novice. The description of that relic house has been related in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. How was it described?

"May you look upon the relic house that has been attractively made with many kinds of precious materials and the relic shrine that was has been beautifully made in the very same manner."[2] And inviting the novice along, coming to the near side of the relic house, standing on top of a lotus made out of coral on the moonstone, he declared, "Reverend! Please assess the value of this relic shrine and this relic house." The novice said to the *nāga* king, "I am unable to assess their value. All the jewels in Laṅkādvīpa, which is of 191 leagues, are not worth even this moonstone over which one treads to enter your relic house." The *nāga* king who

heard those words said, "Reverend! In that case, it is not proper to take the relics away from a place that has great offerings and reverence like this to a place with very few offerings."

Again, the novice said to the *nāga* king, "Lord! The Fully Awakened Buddha himself lived honoring the Excellent Teaching. He did not live honoring material things. Therefore, leaving aside this much [wealth] of yours, even if you had construct a house of the seven precious materials that equaled the size of the World-realm Mountain, filled that house with the seven precious materials, made offerings to the relics, and safeguarded them, you are unable to receive the Dharma-consecration [*dharmābhiṣekayak*]."[3] Thereupon, the novice [again] said to the *nāga* king, "Today the great King Duṭugämuṇu will enshrine the relics. Therefore give the relics to me quickly without delay." Not backing down before the words spoken by the novice, and concluding that his nephew had hidden the relics, he announced to the novice, "Reverend! Without knowing whether the relics are in my relic shrine or not, [you] say, 'Lord! Give the relics to me,' [but] I say that I do not have them. Therefore, what is the use of talking like this? If you see my relics, take them away and venerate them," he announced. At that time the novice, who heard the words spoken by the *nāga* king, while standing in front of that *nāga* king, creating an extremely fine arm, stretching out the arm in that very instant into the mouth of the nephew who lay surrounded by a bunch of *nāga*s at the base of Meru, and removing the relic casket, said, "Nāga king! I have completed that for which I had come. Stay!" Then as quickly as it takes the topside of a fine spider web to become blackened by fire underneath it, he dove into the earth and returned to the Puda Monastery where he was residing.

On that day the crowd of deities and *nāga*s who gathered, saying, "Let us watch the battle between the novice and the *nāga* king," happily seeing how the novice achieved victory, and returning along with the novice while showing reverence and making offerings to the relics, entered the monastery. When the novice had left, the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa thought, "I deceived the novice and sent him away," and became happy. And addressing those who were standing nearby, he sent servants to his nephew, saying, "He should come quickly with the relics to return them to the relic shrine." At that time the lordly *nāga* Vāsuladatta, not perceiving the relic casket that had been kept in his belly, coming and weeping with his hands on his head, falling on the feet of his uncle, informed his uncle

that the relic casket had been removed from his belly. The *nāga* king, who heard what his nephew said, wept and said, "We have been deceived. We did not know this fact." All the snakes who heard his weeping gathered and wept in sorrow over the relics. Thereupon all the snakes in the *nāga* realm, tearing loose their hair and letting it fall down their backs, grabbing their chests with both hands, and while shedding streams of tears, as if liquifying their grief, from their blue-lotus eyes, coming from the *nāga* realm and gathering at the novice Soṇuttara's Puda Monastery, lamented thus. How did they lament?

"Son of the Omniscient One, who reached the pinnacle of compassion toward all beings! Is this suffering of *saṃsāra* acute only for humans? Is nirvana attractive only for humans? Did the Dear Lord fulfill the perfections and become a Buddha only for humans? Does that Excellent Teaching become ambrosia only for humans? Does that Sangha-Gem eliminate suffering and unhappiness only for humans? Are the relics from the body of that Dear Lord like poison to our eyes because of our fearsome poison? Are they like a camphor stick just for the eyes of humans? Is the splendor of that Dear Lord's form attractive only to humans? Merely by venerating and making offerings to the relics of the Dear Lord, obstructing rebirths in the four miserable states, does the great road of nirvana become the great royal road only for humans [to traverse]?[4] Why! Aren't we also in *saṃsāra*? Aside from the fact the he became a Buddha, thinking, 'I will dispel the suffering of humans,' did he not think 'I will dispel the suffering of the snakes in the *nāga* world'? Thus should it be so hard for us that because of our fearsome poison, the compassion of that Buddha, which spreads throughout the entire world, gets checked and does not come to us? Again, when the Dear Lord, who was on the way to becoming a Buddha, relinquished the bowl in which he ate and released it on the river, traveling ten cubits upstream and entering a whirlpool, did it not come to the realm of one of our kin? When a great downpour was raining for seven days in the first period of his Awakening, was it not a snake from our kin who seated him inside his coils like a seat constructed with silver bricks, and who made a perfumed hut with his hood?[5]

"Was it not a devotee from our kin who created one thousand mouths during the celebration when he became a Buddha and shouted praise like a panegyrist for the Lord? Therefore considering these proprietary rights for [the relics of] the Dear Lord, surely we too are devotees. Therefore

may you show us benevolence. Sirs, we are tormented by your removal of the relics," and having related the many reasons in the middle of the Sangha, the snakes wept in this manner.[6]

Those snakes wept and again announced to the monastic community, "Reverends! Having received those relics by the power of our merit without harming anyone, why have you taken them away without leaving even a small amount of relics from those that we safeguarded for a long time? Why have you made an obstacle to our [attainment of] heaven and release?" In this way those snakes wept in despair and increased the monks' feelings of affection. Thus, after the snakes had wept, the Great Sangha gave a few relics to those snakes out of benevolence. At that time those snakes, receiving the relics and becoming happy, going to their *nāga* realm and bringing along articles of worship, showing reverence and making great offerings to the relics that they obtained, took them away to the *nāga* realm and conducted them to the relic house.

Thereupon Śakra, king of the gods, summoned the deity Viśvakarma and ordered, "Dear boy! Create a pavilion of the seven precious materials in the place where the novice, having taken the relics, rose up and split the earth." At that moment the deity Viśvakarma, created a pavilion of the seven precious materials at that place. Thereupon Śakra, king of the gods, accompanied by the deities of the two divine worlds, taking along a jeweled seat and a gold casket, placing the jeweled seat in the pavilion of the seven precious materials, which was created by that deity Viśvakarma, and the gold casket on top of that, taking the relic casket from the hand of the novice, established it on the jeweled seat mentioned first.

Then the Great Brahmā held the white parasol, which had a circumference of twelve *gavu*s and a height of forty-eight *gavu*s, above those relics. The *santusita* god, taking the yak-tail whisk fan, stood waving it. The *suyāma* god stood holding the palm-leaf fan of gems. Śakra, king of the gods, stood blowing the Victory Conch of 120 cubits. Thereupon the four regent deities, holding swords in their hands, saying, "We will not allow enemies to get near the relics," and having come accompanied by twenty-eight *yakṣa* generals with 280,000 *yakṣa*s, stood guard over those relics. The thirty-two deities who have great psychic powers, holding gold caskets in their hands, stood there while making offerings with *parasatu* and *madārā* flowers. The thirty-two female deities also stood holding lighted torches. And the *pañcasikha* god, having plucked the seven strings on the Beḷuvapaṇḍu Vīṇā, which has a length of three *gavu*s,

stood and venerated while making offerings of ambrosia with 10,991 sounds for the ears of the entire world. Again, the *gandharva* king Timbarū created a circular stage and stood venerating while making offerings to those relics with the sounds of various kinds of drums.

Again, fifty thousand pairs of drummers and ten thousand divine damsels who were singing songs with sixty-eight thousand drums, each reciting the virtues of the Buddha, began to beat the drums and dance before those relics; 320,000 divine princes and that many divine princesses stood holding lighted torches. Endless and innumerable gods, circumambulating those relics, joining hands, embracing each other around the neck, running and reciting the virtues of the Buddha, and—while they were declaring the Triple Gem, the Thirty-two Marks of the Great Person, the six-colored, solid Buddha-rays, the Five Hundred and Fifty Jātakas [*pansiyapaṇas jātaḳayan*], the Fourteen Knowledges, and the Nine Attributes of the Buddha beginning with *arahaṃ*—saying, "Friend! Friend!" to each other at this and that junction, made offerings to the relics in this manner. Also the *nāga* king Mahākāḷa, while sounding out various kinds of praise, accompanied by eighty thousand crores of *nāga* maidens, remained venerating those relics.[7] Again, the endless and immeasurable gods, surrounding those relics, blew horns [made] of the seven precious materials. What did they say while blowing those horns?

"Lion of the Śākyas, who is auspicious in every way! He who suffers for others! He who is the flood of the river of the Excellent Teaching! The maker of joy in hearts! The destroyer of the conceit of Māra! The diamond cage in which to take refuge for those without refuge! The crest-gem of the three worlds! He who is fit to be venerated and esteemed! Superior to the gods! Superior to *śaḳra*s! Superior to *brahmā*s!" And while praising [him] as such, how many gods were blowing victory horns for those relics? They were like the stars that appeared in the evening sky. The seven precious materials emerged and spread out upon the earth. The fish in the ocean rose up to the water's surface and reclined without moving their fins, ready to watch the miracles of those relics.

Thereupon, the Mahāthera Indagutta, while thinking, "If Vaśavarti Māra comes in order to quash these offerings, I will check him," created a metal umbrella that was forty-eight *gavu*s thick and covered the World-realm Mountain of 3,610,350 leagues. Ninety-six crores of *arahant*s headed by the *thera*s, who were well-versed in the five *nikāya*s, sat all around in five places and chanted *pirit*.

At this time King Duṭugämuṇu, coming to that spot, conducting the relics with the casket in which they were kept, and lowering the gold casket from his head, placed them on the seat of the seven precious materials. Again, making offerings to the relics with perfume, scented powder, and fragrant flowers, and so on, circumambulating them, venerating them by touching the five points of his body to the ground,[8] putting his two hands on his head, and while opening both eyes wide and looking on with great happiness, he continued venerating. At that time the relics and a white parasol that was fixed above them were visible. The Great Brahmā who held the umbrella was not visible. Likewise the palm-leaf fan and yak-tail whisk, and so on, while fanning the relics, were visible. The gods who were holding each of those things were not visible to the people. The sound of the divine drums struck by the gods and the divine singing were heard. The deities were not visible to the people.

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu, seeing those wonders, announced to the Mahāthera Indagutta. "Reverend! The gods have made an offering with the divine parasol. Therefore I too will make an offering with the human parasol that belongs to me," he announced. And the Mahāthera Indagutta, who heard those words, said, "Great King! It is proper to make an offering in that very manner." King Gämuṇu, who heard those words, making an offering to the relics with his gold-handled white parasol, pouring water from a gold pitcher, offering Lakdiva, and making offerings to those relics with the sound of the five kinds of instruments, namely, one-sided drums, two-sided drums, leather-covered drums, cymbals, and horns, the great King Duṭugämuṇu again announced thus to the Mahāthera Indagutta. "Reverend! Did our Buddha bear these two parasols, namely, the divine and human ones?" he announced. The *thera* said to the king, "Great King! The Buddha bore not only those two parasols." The king asked the *thera*, "Reverend! I am not aware of another parasol. What is it?" Then the *thera* replied to the king, "Indeed, the other parasol is like this—raising the exalted parasol of liberation [*vimukṭi*], which has the support of the four ethical practices of purity [*catuparisuddhisīla*],[9] the handle of concentration [*samādhi*], the spokes of the twenty sense faculties, the row of leaves of the ten powers, and the covering of the paths and fruits, and obtaining the consecration of wisdom, setting forth the precious wheel of the precious Excellent Teaching, he ruled possessing the sovereignty of Buddhahood [*buddharājyaya*] in the ten thousand world-realms, didn't he?"[10] King Duṭugämuṇu, who

heard that, said, "I will make an offering with this Laṅkādvīpa of 191 leagues, which belongs to me, to the relics of the Buddha who bore three white parasols." He then offered [sovereignty over] Laṅkādvīpa three times.

Thereupon when the gods and humans were offering divine flowers, divine perfumes, and divine lamps, and while they were continuing to make offerings with divine music, divine singing, and so on, the great King Duṭugämuṇu, taking the relic casket on his head, bringing it out from the pavilion of precious materials, circumambulating the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands three times accompanied by ninety-six crores of *arahant*s, ascending toward the relic shrine on the eastern side, descended into the relic chamber. The ninety-six crores of *arahant*s also descended into the relic chamber and stood in order. Then the great King Duṭugämuṇu lowered the relic casket from his head and thought, "I will place the relics on the very costly silver bed worth a crore." The moment the king thought that, the relics, rising up in the air [the height of] about seven palm trees from the head of that king, emerging from the casket by themselves, fixing the Great Meru Mountain of the ten thousand world-realms as the golden post from the rim of the eastern world-realm to the rim of the western world-realm, creating the eighteen-cubit-high Buddha-body in the jeweled walkway above that, and assuming the form of the Buddha, which was shining with the Thirty-two Marks of a Great Being, including "firmly established feet, one thousand wheels with rims and hubs, which appeared on the soles of his feet," and so forth,[11] with the Eighty Secondary Marks, with the ornament of the fathom-length halo, and with a garland of the six-colored Buddha-rays, namely, blue, yellow, red, white, scarlet, and the radiant mixture, . . . and didn't he perform the Twin Miracle at the foot of the *gaṇḍamba* mango tree for the sake of breaking the arrogance of the heretics?[12]

These relics displayed the Twin Miracle in the middle of the entire assembly headed by the great King Duṭugämuṇu. About twelve crores of women and men who saw the wondrous miracle of those relics became *arahant*s and obtained the Fourfold Discriminating Knowledge. One cannot count the many beings who attained the other three paths and three fruits of the Stream-enterer, Once-returner, and Non-returner. The relics, thus displaying these various kinds of miracles, such as streams of water and streams of fire, dissolving the image of the Buddha they had created, going back into the precious casket, descending from the sky, settled

on the head of that great King Duṭugämuṇu. At that time that king—being filled with joy like the fine cup of the *tolabō* plant when filled by the wind, thinking, "I have obtained the fruit of my existence. I am surely a person who has done merit in former births," like at the time when he was consecrated—taking the relic casket with his hands, going up to the silver bed that was decorated and worth a crore accompanied by his sixteen thousand consorts, placing the relic casket again on top of the casket of precious materials, washing his hands with water that had been strained and scented, rubbing his hands with the four fragrant things opening the precious casket, and taking the relics out—thought thus. What did he think?

"Can these relics not succumb to any danger from anyone for five thousand years? Will they remain established for all beings? If they will, may these relics recline on this bed like the way the world-transcending Buddha passed away in *parinirvāṇa* while reclining without getting up from the bed, which was arranged in the middle of the two twin *sal* trees in the city of Kusinārā, having put his head toward the *sal* tree in the north, having put his feet toward the *sal* tree in the south, having put his back toward the east, and having put his face toward the west." Then he placed those relics on top of that splendid bed. At that instant the relics reclined on that very costly bed in just the manner thought by the king, pleasing and delighting the minds of everyone with the form of the Buddha, while illuminating the entire world.

On what day were the relics enshrined in the relic shrine? They were enshrined on the *pōya* of the full-moon day in the month of Äsaḷa under the Uturusaḷa asterism. When the relics were enshrined, the great earth jumped up and resounded like a bunch of metal dishes struck by an iron bar. The Great Meru Mountain also continued to bow down and venerate. The seven mountains danced and struck each others' peaks. The seven great lakes were decorated with the five kinds of lotuses. The great ocean, which has a salty taste, became sweetened water. The gods and *brahmā*s who inhabit the six divine worlds chanted the *sādhuḵāra*. Lightning appeared in the sky. At that instant an unseasonal rain cloud rose up and poured down the "cluster rain." The ten thousand world-realms became a tumult. Seeing these wonders, the great King Duṭugämuṇu, who was happy, offering sovereignty over this entire Laṅkādvīpa with the white parasol with the gold handle fixed above his head to those relics for seven days, again unfastened and offered his ornaments worth thirty

thousand [gold coins], with which he was adorned. When the king had thus made the offerings, the king's sixteen thousand consorts, various royal officials, the Ten Great Warriors beginning with Nandimitra, about eleven thousand soldiers with swords, many women and men, gods and *brahmā*s, *nāga*s and *suparṇa*s, *yakṣa*s and *rākṣasa*s, *siddha*s and *vidyādhara*s all unfastened their own ornaments with which they were adorned and made offerings to the relics.

Therefore if anyone were to make an offering with reverence to the living Omniscient One, who is honored by the inhabitants of the three worlds, and if anyone were to make an offering to a relic of that Omniscient One measuring [even] about a mustard seed, knowing that the wholesome fruit in that serenely joyful mind equals the offering made to the living Omniscient One, all beings should offer flowers and lamps to those relics.

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu, donating robes, cloths, and medicines such as sugarcane jaggery and cow ghee to the ninety-six crores of *arahant*s, putting both hands on his head, requested, "Reverends! May you surround these relics and chant *pirit* throughout the three watches of the night." And because of that king's request, the *arahant*s chanted *pirit* throughout that same night. The following day the king sent the drum around the city. What did he proclaim by the drum?

"May all beings take along things such as fragrant incense, scented oil, fragrant flowers, and lamp oil, venerate, and make offerings to the relics for seven days," and thus proclaiming, he sent the drum around in this manner. Indagutta Thera made a resolution saying, "Let every woman and man in Laṅkādvīpa, taking along and making offerings of flowers and lamps, observing the precepts, setting off from their respective homes without any difficulty, and coming to the sermon hall, listen to the sermon and become mentally composed. And venerating the relics again before going to their respective homes, may they go [back] at this very time." By the power of his resolution, all the beings in this Laṅkā, coming on that very day, venerating and making offerings to the relics, went back to their respective villages and localities on that same day. Thereupon the king gave a great gift of alms to the ninety-six crores of *arahant*s for seven days. And on the eighth day, he announced thus to the Great Sangha, "Reverends! The work I had to do on the relic chamber is finished. Therefore may the venerable ones cover the relic chamber with the fat-colored stone."

The Great Sangha, who heard those words, summoned the two novices Uttara and Sumana, and said, "Cover the relic chamber with the fat-colored stone that you brought earlier." The two venerable ones, hearing that exhortation spoken by all the venerable ones, fetching the fat-colored stone that had been hidden in the sand courtyard, covered the relic chamber. Thereupon about ninety-six crores of *arahant*s resolved, "May the scented paste that King Duṭugämuṇu has rubbed in this relic chamber not dry up for five thousand years. May the flowers offered in the relic chamber not whither. May the light of the fragrant oil that burns in the gold lamps not be extinguished. May dirt not adhere to the jewels that have been offered. May these articles of worship not be moved even by Māra. May the fat-colored stones also be firmly sealed without even a gap measuring the tip of a hair. And may the fat-colored stones not even be seen by enemies."

Thus that great King Duṭugämuṇu, completing the enshrining of the relics, coming [back] to the city, sent the drum around proclaiming, "Let anyone wishing to make a deposit of relics in the Great Relic Shrine, which I have built, bring their own relics and make a deposit on top of the fat-colored stones." And having proclaimed that, he sent the drum around. Many people who heard that news, making gold caskets and silver caskets according to their ability, laying each of their relics in those caskets and bringing them, deposited them on top of the fat-colored stones. Thus it ought to be understood that the relics everyone brought for the deposit numbered one thousand.

"The Account of the Relic Deposit" in the *Thūpavaṃsa*, which has been recited for the sake of arousing serene joy in the minds of virtuous persons, is finished.

13

THE DEATH OF KING DUṬUGÄMUṆU

That great King Duṭugämuṇu, having enshrined all those relics [in the chamber], and while building the relic shrine, finished the dome and four-cornered platform. Thereupon, before wholly finishing the spire of the relic shrine, the finishings on the pinnacle, the white parasol, and the whitewashing on the relic shrine, that great King Duṭugämuṇu fell sick with a fatal illness. Having his younger brother Prince Tissa brought from Digāmaṅḍulla, pulling his younger brother to him and placing his head against his breast, kissing and consoling him, he said, "Younger brother! In this world, a companion is very difficult to find. Therefore, the companions among one's relatives and friends are the real companions for the next world.[1] Finish all the work on this relic shrine, show it to me before I die, and make me happy." He directed his younger brother Prince Tissa in this manner.

Prince Tissa, who heard what his brother said, while shedding tears, thought, "My brother is very weak indeed. Therefore, I cannot finish the work on this relic shrine for him in any other way except by an expedient means [*upāya*]." And having retrieved a bundle of cloth from the storehouse, having washermen wash and make them very white, having them hoisted onto timber, having tailors sew them, having wicker-workers build a *stūpa*-house to resemble a spire, and having the relic shrine, which has a height of 120 cubits, covered at first with the white cloths and sewn

by the tailors, having the painters do various kinds of paintings, having them decorate it in this manner like a piece of work done by Viśvakarma, finishing all the work on the relic shrine, fixing the pinnacle and raising the white parasol on top, he went and informed the king, "Lord! I have finished all the requisite work on the relic shrine."

Then King Gämuṇu, who heard those words with happiness said, "If that is the case, younger brother, show me the relic shrine." Then Prince Tissa, bringing his brother along in a golden palanquin, having him circumambulate the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, spreading a fine rug over the ground near the gate in the south, had him lie on top of that. The king, turning on his right side, was venerating the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands. Turning on his left side, he looked at the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion, which had nine stories. Thus while gazing at those two things, he aroused serene joy in his mind. When he reclined while rejoicing with joy, about ninety-six crores of *arahant*s, ascertaining the king's illness, coming by air from this and that place to inquire about the condition of King Duṭugämuṇu—who had rendered great service to both the world and the Dispensation of the Buddha, which will remain for five thousand years—stood around the king. It is said that one could not even measure the worldly monks who came by land. Thereupon the Great Sangha, who assembled around the king in various groups, chanted *pirit*.

At that time the great King Gämuṇu, not seeing the Thera Theraputtābhaya in that assembly, thought thus. "Not leaving my side and not retreating when he undertook the twenty-eight great battles beginning in Miyuŋguṇa against the Demaḷas with me, perhaps having ascertained that I am now losing the battle that I wage with Māra [i.e., death], the *thera* does not come," he thought. In the very instant the king thought this, the Mahāthera Theraputtābhaya, while residing with five hundred *arahant*s on Añjaliparvata near the Kiriŋdi River in Guthala, having ascertained the king's thought by his knowledge of knowing the minds of others, coming by air accompanied by the five hundred *arahant*s, appeared in front of King Duṭugämuṇu. Seeing with happiness the *thera* who had come, having him seated in front of himself, and announcing, "Reverend! Having taken along the Ten Great Warriors, which included you, I waged battle with the twenty great warriors who came along with the Demaḷas. Now I have begun the battle with Māra alone. I am not able to defeat that enemy of Māra. Therefore, Sir, please speak congenially to me," he informed the *thera*.

Thereupon the Mahāthera Theraputtābhaya, who heard those words, said, "Great King! Do not be afraid. The enemy, namely the defilements, is not able to defeat you. But you cannot win against the enemy Māra."[2] Again that *thera* instructed the king in this way: "Lord! All the inhabitants of the world have gone according to their birth. They have been trampled by old age. They have been overwhelmed by death." Then while explicating impermanence to the king, he spoke thus. "Just as in the eon destroyed by the wind, first things such as fine sand, gravel, pebbles, stones, and large rocks are lifted up like balls, and then things such as the Himālaya Mountain, the World-realm Mountain, and the Great Meru Mountain are uprooted from the earth, rise up in the air like a top with which children play, strike and pulverize [each other], and are destroyed in the sky. They will [all] disappear without even a trace of dust falling to the ground. In that very manner, Great King, all these beings, gods, brahmins, and so on, meet with both old age and death."

"When Universal Monarchs and provincial kings, endowed with great power equal to those who ruled in the days when the seven precious materials appeared, and who journeyed by air to the four great continents, gave exhortations, and ate the midday meal [back] in their own households in Daṁbadiva; and noble kings of incalculable lifespans, such as Mahāsammata, Rōja, Vararōja, and Kalyāṇa;[3] and wealthy householders such as Jōtiya, who had great merit,[4] and Mäṅḍa [Pāli: Mendaka] the great millionaire;[5] and the ten brother-kings such as Vāsudēv and Baladēv, who had great strength;[6] and those who possess psychic powers such as the Mahāthera Mugalan, who came to the foremost place of those with psychic powers; and those who possess wisdom such as Mahāthera Säriyut, the Dharma General, who came to the foremost place of those with wisdom; and *paccekabuddha*s who had special virtues that were attained by their self-produced knowledge; and Fully-awakened Buddhas who are incomparable and limitless with respect to every virtue, have [all] been trampled by the great elephant of death, it is no wonder that all the remaining beings who are covered by all the defilements, such as lust, and so on, fall into the Submarine Fire and arrive at destruction"; and having thus spoken, he again admonished the king,

"Great King! Because of your great intention toward doing merit in past births, rejecting the divine happiness in the the divine world to which you were approaching, coming to this human world, being born in this royal line, and performing great merit, you caused the Buddha's Dispensation to

shine. Therefore Great King, without harboring any doubt, recall all the acts of merit you have done up to this fortnight," he said. Then the king, who heard those words with happiness, saying, "Reverend! You, Sir, have assisted me in the battle I am waging with Māra too," and being consoled, he ordered the record of his meritorious deeds to be read.[7]

Thereupon the scribes, who were reading the record of his meritorious deeds, spoke thus to the great King Gämuṇu. "Lord! Up till today, Sir, you have built ninety-nine monasteries. Of the monasteries you built, you spent nineteen crores of wealth to build the Mirisavāṭi Monastery.[8] Again, you spent thirty crores of wealth to build the majestic Great Copper-Roofed Mansion. Again, leaving aside the twenty-four invaluable objects in the Great Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, the remaining work was worth one thousand crores of wealth. Again, at these four instances, namely, during the seven days when you donated the Mirisavāṭi Monastery, during the seven days when you donated the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion, during the seven days when you had the ceremonial brick laid in the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, and during the seven days when you enshrined the relics, bestowing great gifts of alms to the community of monks and nuns who came from all directions, you gave the three robes and a bowl [to them all]. You held twenty-four great Vesak festivals. Again, on three occasions you distributed the three robes and a bowl to the entire monastic community in Siṅhaladvīpa. On five occasions you offered the kingdom of Laṅkā to the Triple Gem for seven days. Twisting in lamp wicks made from white cloth prepared with cow ghee, you made an offering continually of seven thousand lamps at twelve places. Erecting hospitals at eighteen places in Lakdīva, giving money from the treasury to physicians, arranging medical treatment for all the diseased and sick persons, you continually distributed requisites as well as food as stated by the physicians. Again, at forty-four places you gave alms of well-prepared honey-cakes. Likewise at forty-four places, you separated the ghee and distributed milk-rice continually to everyone. Again, in those many places you continually distributed fried cakes [*puḷup baňdanā*], which were made with cow ghee. For twelve days each month, you distributed oil for lamps to all the monasteries that are said to exist in this entire Laṅkādvīpa. Likewise in every place you set up law courts to mediate and adjudicate cases.[9] You had black pepper and salt given to all the pregnant women in Laṅkādvīpa, and clothes given to the midwives who assist in giving birth. You had straw that was mixed in honey given to all the elephants in

Laṅkādvīpa and to the bullocks that, having pulled carts in the daytime, were hungry at night.

"Hearing that the gift of the Teaching [*dharmadāna*] of the World-transcending Buddha is superior to all these gifts, thinking that it would be good to give a gift of the Teaching in the middle of the ninety-six crores of *arahant*s who assembled and were seated in the Great Copper-Roofed Mansion, ascending up to and sitting down in the Dharma seat, and while beginning to recite the Maṅgala Sutta, looking at the Great Sangha, and not being able to finish reciting the *sutta* out of respect, you thought, 'Expounding the Doctrine [*baṇa*] is indeed a very difficult thing.' Then beginning from that point, supplying a pandit to each village so that everyone in this entire Laṅkādvīpa would hear the doctrine, having distributed wages, livelihood, and expenditures to all those pandits, and paying homage to them, you had the Doctrine expounded everywhere in Laṅkādvīpa.[10] Again, giving four *näḷi*s of ghee per month—one measure per *pōya* day, and sugarcane jaggery, sugarcane stalks, bananas, soft and hard jackfruit, a piece of licorice that had the length of four finger-breadths, and a pair of cloths for a *pōya* day to pandits who expound the doctrine, you had the Gift of the Teaching distributed to everyone.

"Again, during the famine in Koḷomhala when they were eating the bran of rice, giving the two very costly ear ornaments on your ears, and receiving a parcel of sour millet as food, you gave it with a serenely joyful mind to five *arahant*s.

"Again, while in Yudaňganapiṭiya, having been defeated in the battle you fought against your younger brother, you fled and slept for a while at the Sappaňduru River. Then saying, 'I will eat after I give alms with the food I have received,' and directing your attendant, having the announcement made that it was time to come and receive alms, then seeing the *arahant*s who came by air, you gave the food in your dish without having any desire toward the food." When the record of his meritorious deeds had been recited by the scribes, the great King Duṭugämuṇu, who heard that and became happy, giving limitless wealth to those scribes who pleased his mind by reading the record of his meritorious deeds, said, "Leaving aside that much in the record of the meritorious deeds, because all the acts of merit thus described were performed with the prosperity of kingship, they cannot fully please my mind.[11] There were no two gifts equal to the two gifts I gave while being destitute and without regard for my life. These are just enough for me."

And the Thera Theraputtābhaya, who heard what the king said, saying, "Lord! You aroused serene joy in the very place that one ought to. Therefore because of these five factors, namely, because these two gifts were things obtained righteously and peacefully without doing harm to anyone, and because they were given without consideration for oneself and without hesitation, and because they were given to fulfill the interests of the recipients, and because they were given with great joy and pious confidence, and because the gifts were enjoyed fully, they yield great results," and saying [further], "Of the *thera*s who took the gift of sour millet, the Thera Maliyadeva, having taken away the portion of food he accepted, gave it to five hundred venerable ones who were residing on the Samanala Mountain while eating a portion of it.[12] Another *thera* named Dhammagutta, the Earth-shaker, having taken away the portion of food he accepted, gave it to five hundred venerable ones in the great Kälaṇi Monastery while eating a portion of it. The Thera Dhammagutta, a resident of the Talaguru Monastery, having taken away the portion of food he accepted, distributed it to the twelve thousand *arahant*s on the Puvaňgu Island while eating a portion of it. The Thera Tissa, a resident of Mahāvana, having taken away the portion of food he accepted, distributed it to the sixty thousand *arahant*s who were residing in the Kelāsakuṭa Monastery while eating a portion of it. The Thera Mahābhaggava, having taken away the portion of food he accepted, distributed it to the seven hundred *arahant*s residing in the Ukkānagara Monastery while eating a portion of it. The *thera* who accepted the food in the dish, having taken it away to the Puvaňgu Island, distributed it to twelve thousand venerable ones while eating a portion of it," and thus speaking, the Mahāthera Theraputtābhaya aroused serene joy in the king's mind.

Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu announced, "Reverend! While I ruled for twenty-four years, I have been of service to the monastic community. Therefore, let my body also be of service to the Sangha. When I am dead, please cremate my body in the compound for observing the *pōya* near the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands." Thereupon the great King Duṭugämuṇu, having his younger brother Prince Tissa brought, and while saying, "Younger brother Tissa! If there is any work that has not been finished on my Great Relic Shrine, have that work done well. Venerate and offer flowers and lamps to the Great Relic Shrine in the evening and morning, and have offerings made three times a day with such things as the *sakpañca* drum.[13] Give without interruption the series

of alms that I have established. Do not neglect your requisite services for the Great Sangha. And be mindful of keeping your life! Rule righteously and peacefully without doing harm to the inhabitants of Laṅkā," and having admonished his younger brother in this way, he lay down without speaking.

Then the ninety-six crores of *arahant*s began to recite the Doctrine [*baṇa*] to the king. At that time gods from the Six Divine Worlds, coming with six chariots, arranging them in order, remaining in the sky and saying, "Lord! Our divine world is exquisite. Also the lifespan in our divine world is great. Therefore please come to our divine world," each invited the king. The king who heard what the gods said, while addressing the gods, "Bear with me as long as I am listening to the Doctrine," raised his right hand in a gesture. Seeing the gesture that the king made, the Great Sangha stopped reciting the Doctrine. Then the king, seeing that they had interrupted the Doctrine, asked, "Reverends! Why have you stopped reciting the Doctrine to the end?" Then the Great Sangha said to the king, "Lord! It is because you made a gesture with your hand and stopped us." The king, who heard those words, saying, "Reverends! I did not make a gesture to stop the Doctrine that you were reciting. The deities, having brought six divine chariots from the divine worlds, wishing to take me away to their respective divine worlds, invited [me to come with them]. Therefore I said, 'Wait until I am finished listening to the Doctrine,' and made a gesture," he declared.

Having heard that, some persons thought, "This great King Duṭugämuṇu is afraid of death and speaks nonsense. Of course, there is no one who does not fear death." The Mahāthera Theraputtābhaya, who ascertained their thoughts, while addressing the king, said, "Lord! Dispel the doubts of everyone and affix flower garlands on the six chariots that have come from the six divine worlds." Then the great King Duṭugämuṇu, who heard the words spoken by the *thera*, ordered them to throw six flower garlands into the sky. The six flower garlands, which were thrown upward, hung from each of the chariots. At that time many people, seeing the flower garlands that were hanging on the poles of the chariots, dispelled their doubts.

Thereupon the king, while addressing the *thera*, asked, "Reverend! Which divine world from among the Six Divine Worlds is exquisite?" The *thera* said, "Lord! The Tuṣita abode is delightful. The Bodhisattva Maitreya, who remains looking for the time to become a Buddha, dwells

in that very place." The king who heard those words, forming an inclination toward the Tuṣita abode, and while looking at the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands, which he had built, passed away while reclining and was reborn as a deity, spontaneously born,[14] in the chariot that was brought from the Tuṣita abode, like someone who awakes from sleep. Then standing in the chariot, being decorated with ornaments filling sixty cartloads, he showed the people the fruit of the merit he had done. And descending from the chariot while the many people were looking on at him, venerating and circumambulating the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands three times, venerating the ninety-six crores of *arahant*s, and requesting permission [to take his leave], speaking to his subjects including his younger brother, "Seeing the divine prosperity I have obtained, perform acts of merit without hesitation at all times,"[15] and thus exhorting everyone, he went to the divine world called the Tuṣita abode.

Thereupon, after King Gämuṇu had died, the king's sixteen thousand harem women, learning that he had died, loosened the hair on their heads, let it fall down their backs and wept. The hall that was built in that place was named the Hall of Releasing the Tiaras. Moreover, when the king was raised on to the funeral pyre, many people put both hands on their heads and wept. The hall that was built in that place became known as the Hall Where They Wept. The compound in which the king was cremated was called the Royal Courtyard. Thereupon Prince Tissa, the younger brother of King Duṭugämuṇu, having adorned the crown, finishing the unfinished spire and whitewashing that relic shrine, which was built by his brother, adorning it with the pinnacle, made great offerings.

Therefore the Account of the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands recited in the *Thūpavaṃsa*, which was compiled for the sake of arousing serene joy in the minds of virtuous persons in this world, is finished.

EPILOGUE

King Kāvantissa, the father of this King Duṭugämuṇu, will be the father to Metē [Maitreya] Buddha, who will become a Buddha in the future. Vihāramahādēvī, the mother of King Duṭugämuṇu, will be the mother to that Metē Buddha. This King Duṭugämuṇu will be the disciple on the right side for him.[1] The younger brother Tissa will be the disciple on the left side for that Metē Buddha. Anulādēvī, who was the younger sister of King Kāvantissa and the paternal aunt to King Duṭugämuṇu, will be his chief queen consort for the one hundred thousand queens when that Metē Buddha is living as a householder in the birth when he will become a Buddha. The son of King Duṭugämuṇu, Prince Sāliya, will be the son to that Metē Buddha. The minister named Saṅgha, who maintained the treasury of this King Duṭugämuṇu, will be the chief male attendant to that Metē Buddha. The daughter of that treasurer will be the chief female attendant to that Buddha. Thus all of these persons, doing valuable acts of merit, hearing the Doctrine from that Metē Buddha and becoming great *arahant*s with the Fourfold Discriminating Knowledge, passing away in *parinirvāṇa* without any material substratum remaining in the end, will enter the city of nirvana.

The Account of the *Thūpavaṃsa*, which was composed by Parākrama Paṇḍita, the Wheel-turner in All Branches of Learning [*sakalavidyācakravarti*], is finished.

May there be success [*siddhirastu*].[2]

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Bechert, "The Beginnings of Buddhist Historiography in Ceylon," 84.
2. Geiger, *The Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, 2.
3. Malalasekera, *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, lxix.
4. These characteristics serve to define the difference between a "chronicle" and "historical narrative" in White, *The Content of the Form*, 2, 21. For a discussion of this distinction in Buddhist literature, see Berkwitz, *Buddhist History in the Vernacular*, 25–27.
5. An interesting fact here is that the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the earliest Pāli histories, were only translated into Sinhala in the modern period after they became valued as documents to trace the history of the Sri Lankan nation.
6. See Jayawickrama, *The Sheafs of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*, xix–xxi.
7. Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, xviii–xxiv.
8. See Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, 109.
9. The arguments for dating Parākrama's work to the thirteenth century are supported in large part by stylistic evidence. For example, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* contains linguistic features resembling other thirteenth-century Sinhala prose works such as Mayūrapāda's *Pūjāvaliya*, which is known to have been composed in 1266 CE.

10. See Dharmakirthi, *Nikāya Saṅgraha hevat Śāsanāvatāraya*, 22.

11. Valgampaye Mahāthera, *Rājaratnākaraya*, 39.

12. Wimalabuddhi, *Gāṭapada Vivaraṇaya sahita Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, xxxix.

13. Kulasuriya, *Siṁhala Sāhityaya I*, 202, 213.

14. Sorata, *Amṛtāvaha naṁ vū Butsaraṇa*, i.

15. Geiger, *The Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, 84.

16. Sannasgala, *Siṁhala Sāhitya Vaṁśaya*, 159.

17. See, for example, the short accounts excerpted from *Cūḷavaṃsa* in Ray, *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, 525–527.

18. For more details of this argument, see Berkwitz, *Buddhist History in the Vernacular*, 312–325.

19. Ray, *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, 628.

20. Note the discussion of an "emergent culture" in Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 123–126.

21. Paranavitana, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 258–260.

22. Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 147.

23. Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*, 45.

24. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 62.

25. Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 92–93.

26. For arguments on the presence of the Buddha in his relics, see Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 101–109; and Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation*, 145–152.

27. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 37. See also Berkwitz, "History and Gratitude in Theravāda Buddhism," 592–597.

28. Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 5–7.

29. Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," 592–594.

30. Ibid., 592.

31. Several scholars of Sinhala literature have stated that the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* precedes the other extant Sinhala translations of Pāli historical narratives. See, for example, Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, 107; Kulasuriya, "The Minor Chronicles and Other Traditional Writings in Sinhalese and Their Historical Value," 9; and Sannasgala, *Siṁhala Sāhitya Vaṁśaya*, 226.

32. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 120.

33. See Geiger, *The Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, 85, 104. Note also the comments acknowledging the derivative style of the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* in Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, xxv; and Law, *The Legend of the Topes (Thūpavaṃsa)*, vi.

34. Law, *The Legend of the Topes (Thūpavaṃsa)*, vi.

35. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 130–131.

36. Karunatillake, *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, 81.

37. A detailed analysis of the ethics of Buddhist historiography is presented in chapter six of Berkwitz, *Buddhist History in the Vernacular*. See also a shorter discussion of the use of historiography to make people more virtuous in Berkwitz, "Emotions and Ethics in Buddhist History," 156.

38. See a similar discussion in Berkwitz, "History and Gratitude in Theravāda Buddhism," 591–592.

39. Karunatillake, *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, 72–73. Cf. Berkwitz, "Emotions and Ethics in Buddhist History," 161.

40. Among the many works of modernist Buddhists emphasizing the need and capacity of individuals to follow the Buddhist path, see Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*, and Batchelor, *Buddhism without Beliefs*. On the impact of modernity on Buddhist ethics in general, see Hallisey, "Buddhist Ethics: Trajectories," 315.

41. Cf. Buddhadatta, ed. *The Mahāvaṃsa*, XXV.108–110. Parākrama's text deliberately revises the controversial remarks in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, wherein a group of supposedly enlightened *arahant*s console the king by saying that among the many Damiḷas he killed, only one and a half could be considered more important than beasts, that is, one of the enemies accepted the Refuges and another one also embraced the Five Precepts. Numerous scholars have cited the *Mahāvaṃsa* account as evidence that Buddhist *vaṃsa*s were responsible for the development of an ancient form of Buddhist nationalism and Sinhala chauvinism. However, the different treatment of this episode in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* makes such an inference difficult to sustain.

PROLOGUE

1. The "eight audiences" have been variously described in different Buddhist sources. In Welivitiye Sorata's *Śrī Sumaṅgala Śabdakōṣaya,* the *aṭa piris* or *aṣṭa parṣad* are said to include: 1) *kṣatriya*s, 2) *brāhmaṇa*s, 3) householders, 4) recluses, 5) the gods of the Cāturmahārājika heaven, 6) the gods of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, 7) *māra*s, and 8) *brahmā*s.

2. The figures named here refer to terrifying beings who were all pacified by the preaching and loving-kindess of the Buddha. Aṅgulimala was a muderous bandit. The other three figures named are *yakṣa*s (Pāli: *yakkha*), which are malevolent or demonic beings from Indic mythology.

3. The narrator refers to the relic shrine that forms the major focus of the text as both *ratnamāli* and *ruvanväli.* As such, one could call the same shrine a variety of names, including Golden Garlands and Golden Sand. One finds a variety of names used for this relic shrine in Anurādhapura throughout Sri Lankan Buddhist literature.

1. THE CAREER OF THE BODHISATTVA

1. The Sinhala name "Daṁbadiva" refers to Jambudvīpa, which is one of the classical names used for the Indian subcontinent in precolonial texts.

2. The word *vastu* here is a play on the word "wealth." In this instance, Sumēdha is refering to the kind of wealth that can be taken along with someone at death, which is to say, merit.

3. The seven precious materials refer to: 1) gold, 2) silver, 3) pearls, 4) gems, 5) cat's-eye jewels, 6) diamonds, and 7) coral.

4. Note this explanation for the name of the Dhārmika mountain differs from that given in the commentary to the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Therein, it is said that the mountain was called Dhammaka because it is a support for righteousness among recluses in general. See Paññananda, *Madhuratthavilāsinī nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, 62.

5. The deity Viśvakarma is the "divine architect" who is repeatedly ordered by Śakra, the king of the gods, to create things and accomplish various tasks on earth.

6. The name of the god Śakra also appears as Sak or Sakka, and refers to the divine overlord of the gods in the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven. He is traditionally held to be one of the most faithful of the Buddha's divine devotees.

7. The Eight Meditative Attainments (Pāli: *samāpatti*) include: 1) the first *jhāna* without sense desires, 2) the second *jhāna* characterized by rapture and joy, 3) the third *jhāna* characterized by joy only, 4) the fourth *jhāna* characterized by equanimity, 5) infinite space, 6) infinite consciousness, 7) nothingness, and 8) cessation. The Five Higher Knowledges comprise a variation on the list of Six Higher Knowledges (see n. 26 below). These five *abhijñā* include: 1) supernormal powers, 2) the Divine Ear, 3) knowing the thoughts of others, 4) remembering one's previous existences, and 5) the Divine Eye. As such, the list of Five Higher Knowledges replicates the list of six with the exception of the knowledge of having destroyed the defilements, which is the key characteristic of attaining nirvana.

8. The Five Māras are the obstacles to enlightenment and are enumerated as: 1) the mental and physical aggregates of existence, 2) death, 3) the personification of death, or *Vaśavarti Māra*, 4) defilements, and 5) conditioned phenomena.

9. The Thirty Perfections represent a development of the *pāramitā*s or "perfections" found in Theravāda Buddhism. Therein the Ten Perfections of giving (*dāna*), morality (*śila*), renunciation (*naiṣkramya*), wisdom (*prajñā*), effort (*vīrya*), forbearance (*kṣanti*), truth (*satya*), resolution (*adhiṣṭhāna*), loving-kindness (*maitreya*), and equanimity (*upekṣa*) are divided into three categories based upon the degree of sacrifice performed to attain them. The first ten

perfections are called *pāramitā*, and refer to times when the Bodhisattva sacrifices his external wealth and possessions to fulfill a perfection. The second ten are called *upapāramitā* and refer to the sacrificing of parts of one's body to fufill a perfection. The final ten perfections are called *paramārtha-pāramitā* and refer to times when the Bodhisattva sacrifices his own life for the sake of fulfilling the perfection.

10. The *udaya giri* or Rising Mountain refers to a mythical mountain at the edge of the universe from behind which the sun is said to rise each day.

11. The use of a marking thread refers to an ancient practice of measuring wood by stretching a piece of string that had been placed in charcoal over a plank and snapping it against its surface, leaving a line marking where the cut should be made.

12. This list of different types of Māra comprises four of the Five Māras alluded to above (see n. 8).

13. The six colors of the rays emanated by the Buddha are: 1) blue, 2) yellow, 3) red, 4) white, 5) copper, and 6) the radiant mix of the other five colors together.

14. This image refers to a description of the destruction of the universe (*kalpa vināśaya*) at the end of one *kalpa* in the cosmic cycle of generation and destruction. Mt. Meru, being the great peak at the center of the universe, might reasonably be taken as the brightest and most visible place consumed by fire during a cosmic dissolution.

15. The seven *bodhyaṅga*s (Pāli: *bojjhaṅga*s) are: 1) mindfulness, 2) investigation into the Dhamma, 3) exertion, 4) joy, 5) serenity, 6) concentration, and 7) equanimity.

16. The fourfold assembly (Pāli: *catuparisā*) traditionally refers to the monks (*bhikkhu*s), nuns (*bhikkhunī*s), male lay devotees (*upāsaka*s), and female lay devotees (*upāsikā*s).

17. That is, the *bodhyaṅga*s (see n. 15 above).

18. The Four Paths refer to the *sotapatti-magga* (Path of the Stream-winner), the *sakadāgāmī-magga* (Path of the Once-returner), the *anāgāmī-magga* (Path of the Non-returner), and the *arahatta-magga* (Path of the *arahant*).

19. There is great difficulty in translating the Sinhala honorific term *svāmidaruvō*, which is often used to refer to the Buddha, *bodhisattva*s, and monks. The translation "Dear Lord" is intended to convey, however imperfectly, both honor and affection, which are implied by the Sinhala term. Sinhala Buddhists today often refer to monks as *hāmuduruvō*, which is a variant of the term.

20. This remark refers to the delicate features of royal personnages who have abstained from hard, physical labor and thus have soft hands and other features.

21. The Fourfold Discriminating Knowledge (Pāli: *catupaṭisambhidā*) comprises: 1) the analysis of meanings of words (*attha*), 2) the analysis of causal relations (*dhamma*), 3) the analysis of philological derivations (*nirutti*), and 4) the insightful knowledge of that which is known by the above three processes (*paṭibhāṇa*).

22. The Buddha's voice is said to be *brahmasvara* (Pāli: *brahmassara*), or "having a heavenly sound" or "having the divine voice (of Brahmā)." This voice is endowed with eight characteristics, described in Pāli as: 1) distinct (*vissaṭṭha*), 2) sweet (*mañju*), 3) not diffuse (*avisārin*), 4) full (*bindu*), 5) discernible (*viññeyya*), 6) pleasing to hear (*savaṇīya*), 7) deep (*gambhīra*), and 8) resonant (*ninnādin*).

23. This Pāli quotation appears in several older texts. See, for example, Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, 13; Fausboll, *The Jātaka*, 15–16; Piyatissa, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, part 1, 16; Paññananda, *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, 76; and Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 151.

24. Typically, Parākrama supplies a Sinhala translation or parapahrase after each Pāli quotation that is inserted into the narrative. In this instance, the Sinhala paraphrase elaborates upon the Pāli verses and supplies more information regarding Dīpaṅkara Buddha's prediction.

25. The Threefold Knowledge (Pāli: *tevijja*) includes: 1) remembering one's previous existences (*pubbe-nivāsānussati-ñāṇa*), 2) knowledge of the dissloutions and rebirths of all beings (*cuti-upapatti-ñāṇa*), and 3) knowledge of having destroyed one's defilements (*āsavānaṃ-ḳhaya-ñāṇa*).

26. The concept of the Six Higher Knowledges (Pāli: *chaḷabhiññā*) adds 1) supernormal powers (*iddhi*), the "Divine Ear"(*dibba-sota*), and 3) knowing the thoughts of others (*paracitta viññāṇa*) to the above Threefold Knowledge. The "Divine Eye" *(dibbacaḳkhu)* is often substituted for, and roughly equivalent to, the *cuti-upapatti-ñāṇa*.

27. The incredibly long lifespan of Dīpaṅkara Buddha is also noted in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. See Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, 23.

28. T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede note in their *Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary* that Buddhaghosa has described eight *gāvuta*s (Sinhala: *gavu*) as equivalent to one league, or *yojana*. A *yojana* (Sinhala: *yodun*) is said to equal about seven or eight miles. Thus, one *gavu* is a distance of about two miles or slightly less.

29. A *mahābhadra ḳalpa* refers specifically to an age wherein five Buddhas have come into existence. Such a period of time is considered to be very auspicious because there are five periods in a single age when a Buddha lives and teaches the Dharma. Therefore, it follows that there are more opportunities to be liberated from *saṃsāra* during this age.

30. The *madārā* flower refers to the five-petaled, brilliant red flowers of the Coral Tree (*erythrina indica*), which according to Indic mythology are also located in heaven. The *parasatu* flower has wide, crinkly yellow petals and is found on the *wormia suffruiticosa*. The *ḳobolīla* (*bauhinia purpurea*) has large, pink orchidlike flowers. Specific information on the type of flowers mentioned here and elsewhere in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* can be found largely in Kottegoda, *Flowers of Sri Lanḳa*.

31. The ten powers (*daśabala*) of a Buddha include: 1) knowing possibilities from impossibilities, or correct and faulty conclusions (*ṭhānāṭhāna*), 2) knowing the fruits of karma (*ḳamma-vipāḳa*), 3) knowing the courses of action leading to all states of existence (*sabbatthagāminipaṭipadā*), 4) knowing all the worlds composed of various elements (*nānādhātu-paṭivedha*), 5) knowing the various dispositions of all beings (*nānādhīmuttiḳa*), 6) knowing the level of development for the faculties of all beings (*indriya-paroparīya*), 7) knowing the levels of meditation and the defilements (*jhānādi-saṃḳilesa*), 8) knowing past existences (*pubbenivāsa*), 9) possessing the Divine Eye that sees the births and deaths of all beings according to their karma (*dibbacaḳkhu*), 10) knowing that one's mental intoxicants have been destroyed (*āsavaḳkhaya*).

32. The fact that this account mentions the relics of the Buddha Kāśyapa being left as one mass to be enshrined in a *dāgäba* appears to contradict the previous statement, where it is said that he passed away into *nirupadiśeṣa nirvāṇa*, that is, nirvana, without any material substratum (such as relics) remaining. It appears, however, that Parākrama Paṇḍita has interpreted *nirupadiśeṣa nirvāṇa* as the state where all life properties have become extinct (such as at death).

2. THE STORY OF PRINCE SIDDHĀRTHA

1. This Pāli quotation also appears in Paññananda, *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, 225, and Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 164.

2. In Pāli literature, the deities who go to this park for amusement in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven disappear at their death in the middle of their revels. See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, 21.

3. The Eightfold Precepts to be observed by laypersons on the full-moon days are listed in the Dhammika Sutta of *Sutta Nipāta,* vv. 400–402: 1) refrain from taking life, 2) refrain from taking what is not given, 3) refrain from lying, 4) refrain from drinking alcohol, 5) refrain from unchastity, 6) refrain from eating at an improper time (after noon), 7) refrain from wearing ornaments, garlands, and perfumes, 8) refrain from lying on a high bed. See Andersen and Smith, *Sutta Nipāta*, 70.

4. Sinhala: *Sataravaraṁ rajadaruvō*. These are traditionally said to include Dhṛtarāstra, Virūḍha, Virūpāksa, and Vaiśravaṇa. Alternatively, they comprise Viṣṇu, Saman, Vibhīṣaṇa, and Kataragama.

5. Pāli: Anotatta. This is one of the seven great lakes of the Himālayas that gets it name from the fact that it is surrounded by mountains that block the rays of the sun and moon, and thus its waters are always cool.

6. This term marks the first of a sequence of notions used to describe the forms of consciousness in Mahāmāya that reflect technical expressions used in Abhidhamma literature. For further information on these complex notions, see Nārada, *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma*.

7. The term used here refers to the last moment of consciousness before passing away at death.

8. Literally, the "wind at the end of an eon" refers to the cosmological idea wherein the world is destroyed at the end of an eon by one of three great catastrophes, namely, fire, water, and wind.

9. The beauty of a woman's eyes, or beauty in general, is traditionally compared with the eyes of fish, the eyes of a doe, and with a blue water lily in Sinhala literature.

10. *Mahāthera* is the title used for a senior Buddhist monk who underwent the higher ordination ceremony at least twenty years earlier.

11. The term *preta* (Pāli: *peta*) refers to a class of beings made up of departed spirits or ghosts who are thought to wander the world in a constant state of hunger and thirst as a result of negative karma in previous existences.

12. The "five kinds of lotuses" refer to the blue water lily, red water lily, white water lily, red lotus, and white lotus.

13. It is also possible to take *puṣpa dhūpa gandha dhūpa* as three items—namely, flowers, incense sticks, and strings of incense. The word *dhūpa* normally refers to sticks of incense that are burned, while *gandha dhūpa* is now the Sinhala name of strings that are rolled in incense paste, and then suspended and burned.

14. Here, and in what follows, traditional enemies in the animal realm become friendly and affectionate with one another, testifying to the miraculous event of the future Buddha being born in the world.

15. Santuṣita is the name of the god said to be the chief of the *deva*s in the Tuṣita heaven.

16. Suyāma is a god who is said to be the chief of the Yāma *deva*s.

17. A *yāḷa* is the Sinhala word for a measurement that is roughly equivalent to the capacity of a bullock cart. An *amuṇu* equals rougly five or six bushels. Twenty *amuṇus* are said to be equal to one *yāḷa*.

18. The Astagiri Mountain is the mythical mountain in the west behind which the sun is believed to set.

19. The *lada pasmal* includes: 1) white jasmine buds, 2) white mustard seeds, 3) broken rice, 4) arrow grass, and 5) puffed rice. These items are all white in color and are frequently mentioned as having been used to decorate the site of ceremonies and festivals. The "five decorative flowers" are thus associated with auspiciousness and purification.

20. Vap is the lunar month that falls between September and October when the chief harvest is sowed.

21. In this instance, the term *aṅgīrasa ḳumārayan vahansē* appears as an honorific refering to the Buddha and not Jupiter, the teacher of the gods, who is also known by the name Aṅgīrasa.

22. These Pāli verses are also found in Fausboll, *The Jātaḳa*, 60; Piyatissa, *Jātaḳaṭṭhaḳathā*, part 1, 59; Paññananda, *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, 233; and Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃṃsa*, 165.

23. This "group of women" refers to the dancing girls who tried to delight him earlier that same evening. The fact that the author gives only a bare outline of the story at this point may indicate that he assumes widespread familiarity with the account of Siddhartha's renunciation.

24. Here the narrator presents Siddhārtha's great sacrifice of leaving behind his adorable newborn son as evidence that he had perfected the virtue of renunciation, and therefore was able to obtain Buddhahood later.

25. The gods are portrayed here as feeling obliged to assist the Bodhisattva since he had continually displayed tremendous generosity to various beings who were in need during his previous births.

26. See also Fausboll, *The Jātaḳa*, 63; Piyatissa, *Jātaḳaṭṭhaḳathā*, part 1, 61; Paññananda, *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, 234.

27. See also Fausboll, *The Jātaḳa*, 63; Piyatissa, *Jātaḳaṭṭhaḳathā*, part 1, 61; Paññananda, *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, 234–235.

28. Äsaḷa is the lunar month that falls between June and July.

29. The rim of the world-realm (*saḳvaḷa muvaviṭa*) refers to a common Buddhist cosmological view that the universe surrounding Mount Meru and including the great continent of Jambudvīpa is surrounded by a circular range of iron mountains called the *cakkavāḷa pabbata* in Pāli sources. This circular range of mountains lying around the perimeter of the universe might thus be pictured as forming a kind of rim that forms the boundary between this world-realm and other realms.

30. See also Fausboll, *The Jātaḳa*, 65; Piyatissa, *Jātaḳaṭṭhaḳathā*, part 1, 63; Paññananda, *Maduratthavilāsinī*, 235; and Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃṃsa*, 165.

31. See also Fausboll, *The Jātaḳa*, 65; Piyatissa, *Jātaḳaṭṭhaḳathā*, part 1, 63; Paññananda, *Maduratthavilāsinī*, 236; and Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃṃsa*, 166.

32. An *isba* (Pāli: *usabha*) is said to equal about 120 cubits in length. As such, eight *isba*s is approximately one thousand feet.

33. This term refers to the joyful uttering of the word *sādhu*, as in the chant *sādhu*, *sādhu*, *sā* expressing happiness and reverence.

34. This particular type of resolution consists of a determined refusal to give up one's goal even if one's 1) skin, 2) sinews, 3) bones, and 4) flesh and blood were to dry up and wither away before achieving it.

35. A *yodun* or *yojana* refers to a distance of about seven miles or about the length that a person is able to walk in one day.

36. A *prakoṭi* is variously defined as an extremely large number equivalent to one hundred crores (i.e., 100 × 10,000,000), ten thousand crores, one hundred thousand crores, and even as one hundred lakhs of crores.

3. THE DEFEAT OF MĀRA

1. These ten battalions are indentified in the Padhāna Sutta of the *Sutta Nipāta* with particular unwholesome qualities: 1) sense-desires, 2) boredom, 3) hunger and thirst, 4) craving, 5) sloth and laziness, 6) cowardice, 7) doubt, 8) malice and obstinancy, 9) gain, honor, and fame obtained by wrongful means, and 10) self-praise and denigrating others. See Anderson and Smith, *Sutta Nipāta*, 75–76.

2. From this point on, the author introduces a series of narrators personifying the Ten Perfections, which have led Siddhārtha up to the brink of attaining Buddhahood, as ten warriors who recount select Jātaka stories and dispel the battalions of Māra's army. This section elaborates considerably upon the account in the *Nidānakathā*, wherein the Bodhisattva thinks, "In this place, there is no mother, father, brother, or other relative. But these Ten Perfections alone have been like followers to me for a long time. Therefore, making a shield of the perfections, and striking with the sword of the perfections, it behooves me to destroy this mass of troops." See Piyatissa, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* part 1, 70.

3. Here the narrative begins to summarize the Khadiraṅgāra Jātaka (no. 40 in the Pāli *Jātaka* collection) to illustrate how the Bodhisattva perfected the virtue of giving in former lives. In contrast, the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* cites the Sasapaṇḍita Jātaka (no. 316) to illustrate the Bodhisattva's perfection of giving.

4. The "three aspects" refer to the three conditions that make up a righteous act of giving: 1) the gift is something earned by the giver, 2) it is given without consideration to oneself, and 3) it is given out of confidence in the karmic effects of giving. The "two aspects" refer to the qualities in the recipient that are required for the righteous act to be completed: 1) the recipient

accepts the gift, and 2) the recipient enjoys the gift. Taken together, the various qualities in the giver and recipient make up the "five aspects" that render an act of giving righteous.

5. The image of a battalion from Māra's army falling off the rim of the World-realm Mountain again reflects the ancient Indian cosmological vision of a universe bounded by a circular mountain ridge.

6. Although there are several Jātaka tales in which *nāga*s are found lying on white ant hills, and then thrashed about by snake charmers and villagers, this particular account appears to summarize the Campeyya Jātaka (no. 506), which is also among the Jātakas listed for the Perfection of Morality in the *Jātaṅaṭṭhaṅathā*.

7. Cf. Cullasutasoma Jātaka (no. 525).

8. Cf. Sattubhasta Jātaka (no. 402).

9. Of course, by praising pandits such as Senaka, Parākrama Paṇḍita is also extolling himself.

10. This simile plays on the world *snehaya*, which not only refers to affection and love but also can mean oil. The image evoked is not a pleasant one, however, as it alludes to the inability of keeping down some oil, presumably medicine, and having to throw it up.

11. This suggests that the sermon audience repeatedly exclaimed "*Sādhu*, *Sādhu*, *Sā*" to express their religious fervor that was stimulated by the Bodhisattva.

12. This expression appears to illustrate the idea that the answer given is judged not to be helpful or appropriate.

13. Cf. Mahājanaka Jātaka (no. 539).

14. Cf. Khantivāda Jātaka (no. 313).

15. Note that this Sinhala phrase can also be translated as "I know what to say to him."

16. This comment seems to be the narrator's parenthetical expression rather than the words of the Perfection of Forbearance.

17. Cf. Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (no. 537).

18. Cf. Mūgapakkha Jātaka (no. 538).

19. This *adhiṣṭhāna* refers to a determined resolution wherein not even the loss of one's wealth, limbs, and life will dissuade a person from attaining his or her goal.

20. The idea that the Bodhisattva was born as a *preta* does not fit in with the traditional enumeration of the Eighteen Improper Abodes (*aṭaḷos abhavyasthāna*), which maintains that a *bodhisattva* is never born as a *preta*.

21. The fire being referred to in Prince Tēmiya's soliloquy is the submarine fire of Indian mythology known as the "Mare's Mouth" (*vaḷabhāmuṅha*) because the hole in the bottom of the ocean through which the flames of the Avīci

Hell shoot out is said to be shaped like a horse's mouth. Wendy Doniger has discussed the symbolism and alleged origins of the submarine fire in her book *Śiva: The Erotic Ascetic*. She points out that Hindu myths found in the *Śiva Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* describe how the fire generated by Śiva when he was disturbed from his meditation by Kāma, the god of love, threatened to destroy the world until the god Brahmā made the fire into a mare with flames issuing forth from her mouth and convinced the ocean to contain it until the time came for the destruction of the world (289–290).

22. These comments are meant euphemistically to refer to the arising of romantic feelings among young men.

23. The Five Sense Pleasures (*pañcakāma*) are those directed toward physical forms (*rūpa*), sounds (*śabda*), smells (*gandha*), tastes (*rasa*), and objects of touch (*spraṣṭavya*).

24. The image of the golden swans is a conventional symbol for the breasts of women that, in this case, are said to have been uplifted toward their faces, which are in turn represented by the metaphor of a lotus flower.

25. The comparison of the thighs of the women to the trunk of an elephant is conventionally used to highlight their tapered shape.

26. The "five kinds of joy," listed in increasing levels of intensity, include: 1) slight joy (*khuddika-pīti*), 2) momentary joy (*khaṇika-pīti*), 3) oscillating joy (*okkantika-pīti*), 4) thrilling joy (*ubbega-pīti*), and 5) rapturous joy (*pharaṇa-pīti*).

27. Also known as the "shoe flower" (*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*), the *baňduvada* is bright red in color. If one uses the formula in which one *yodun* (Pāli: *yojana*) equals approximately seven miles, Śakra's seat would be 420 miles long, 350 miles wide, and 105 miles thick.

28. Cf. Nigrodhamiga Jātaka (no. 12).

29. At this point, the narrator interrupts the account recalled by the personification of the Perfection of Loving-Kindness with a short sermon about people's selfish attachment to their own lives while neglecting the welfare of others.

30. The analogy here is slightly flawed, although it appears that Parākrama is attempting to contrast the loving-kindness of the Bodhisattva with the heartlessness of Śākhā, the Devadatta character.

31. Cf. Kusa Jātaka (no. 531).

32. Cf. Vessantara Jātaka (no. 547).

33. The following story symbolizing the perfection of equanimity is similarly referred to in the *Nidānakathā*, albeit without the title of the specific Jātaka from which it was taken.

34. Presumably, the Bodhisattava's thoughts of loving-kindness were enough to stop the elephant from charging him.

4. THE AWAKENING OF THE BUDDHA

1. The term *sirivas*, translated here as "hourglass drums," often refers to an auspicious mark, but that meaning appears unlikely here.

2. In other words, the articles of worship were so numerous that only a Buddha, who is said to have extraordinary powers of speech and knowledge, could fully recount them.

3. These Pāli verses are found in the *Dhammapada*. See Norman and von Hinüber, *Dhammapada*, vv. 153–154.

4. This analogy can be taken to mean that one must develop the omniscience that comes with nirvana in order to count or recall all the previous births of Gautama Buddha. Alternatively, one could infer that the lengthy period typically required for people to obtain nirvana is just long enough to count his previous births.

5. The "four miserable states of existence" (*satara apāya*) refer to 1) hell, 2) animal, 3) hungry ghost (*preta*), and 4) titan (*asura*). These particular types of rebirth are to be avoided since they comprise states of greater suffering and an inability to perform moral action to make progress along the path laid out by the Buddha.

6. This is an idiomatic expression used metaphorically to signify obvious danger or distress.

7. The following poetic description of the amorous advances of the three Māra daughters adheres closely to a similar description in Vidyācakravarti's *Butsaraṇa*. See Sorata, *Amṛtāvaha naṃ vū Butsaraṇa*, 21–23.

8. The moon in the month of Bak (April–May) is said to be exceptionally clear and bright.

9. This particular description of the flirtatious behavior of the Māra daughters uses words and images likened to the preparation of both food and medicine in traditional Sri Lankan culture.

10. That is to say, the beautiful form of Prince Siddhārtha, which has been allegedly spoiled by austerities, is compared to the pure water of the heavenly river that has entered the ocean and become salty.

11. Cf. Kusa Jātaka (no. 531). Note that the Māra daughters employ a strategy similar to the Perfections who were personified as warriors by recalling some notable Jātaka stories. In this case, the Māra daughters turn the significance of the Buddha's former lives around to argue that he should embrace them and show his affection.

12. The word *talapat* is translated here as "mint leaves" rather than palm leaves, because it is the curry leaf from the *tulasī* plant that is commonly used in cooking curries in Sri Lanka.

13. Cf. Cullapaduma Jātaka (no. 193).

14. These words refer back to Prince Siddhārtha's show of strength to dispel the doubt of other kings about his prowess and valor. However, the Māra daughters imply here that Siddhārtha is less virile and masculine than he was earlier.

15. Anaṅga is the mythical Cupid of ancient Indian lore. Thus lacking energy, he is unable to stir up Siddhārtha's amorous feelings.

16. The milk referred to as *rankiri* relates to a custom traditionally practiced at the first feeding of milk to an infant. The milk is first rubbed with a gold ring or spoon and then fed to the child. Thus, this simile appears to signify the giving of something valuable to a recipient that has no use for it and does not even acknowledge receiving it.

17. This sentence may be connected with the idea present in Indian mythology that the female form is regarded as the best form that was created by Brahmā, the Lord of Creation in Hindu thought.

18. Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmapūtra are traditionally held to be Prince Siddhārtha's two, successive gurus who instructed him in the practice of yoga. An account of his encounters with these teachers is given in the Ariyapariyesanā Sutta in Chalmers, *The Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. 1, 163–166, 169–170.

19. See the original Pāli quotation in Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭakaṃ*, vol. 1, 10.

5. THE ENSHRINING OF THE RELICS

1. The auspiciousness of the world-realm, like the auspicousness of an eon, derives from the presence of a Buddha.

2. In fact, the following story of the Varavāraṇa deity is based upon an account found in the commentary to the *Dīgha Nikāya*. Note, however, that the commentary speaks of a number of Varavāraṇa deities rather than just one. See Davids, Carpenter, and Stede, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, part 2, 576–577.

3. Or the day he relinquishes the will to live and promises to give up the aggregate of his current existence to Māra. In other words, he is allowing himself to die without extending his own life.

4. The *caturdaśa buddha jñāna* is, by one account, said to include the knowledge of: 1) the sense-faculties of others (*indriyaparopariyatti*), 2) intentions and dispositions (*āsayānusaya*), 3) the Twin Miracle (*yamaka pāṭihariya*), 4) the attainment of great compassion (*mahā karuṇā samāpatti*), 5) omniscience (*sabbaññutā*), 6) unobstructed knowledge (*anāvaraṇa*), 7) the truth of suffering (*dukkha sacca*), 8) the origin of suffering (*samudaya sacca*), 9) the cessation of suffering (*nirodha sacca*), 10) the truth of the Path (*magga sacca*), 11) the discrimination of meanings (*atthapaṭhisambhidā*), 12) the discrimination of

ideas (*dhammapaṭhisambhidā*), 13) the discrimination of language (*niruttipaṭhisambhidā*), and 14) the discriminative discernment of expression and knowledge (*paṭibhāṇapaṭhisambhidā*).

5. The story of Subhadda's going for refuge on the eve of the Buddha's passing away is related in Davids and Carpenter, *The Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. 2, 148–153.

6. The title *ḳuḷupaga terun vahansē* literally means "the *thera* who visits our home," but appears to signify in this passage feelings of intimacy and favor that the gods have for the Mahāthera Mahasup.

7. I have translated the subsequent uses of the verb *visireṇavā* with the verb "to scatter" rather than "to disperse" as found in the preceding quote from the Buddha. Although the Sinhala word is the same, the uses of it in this section appears to reflect, on the one hand, the conscious decision of the Buddha to have his relics spread to different lands and, on the other hand, the involuntary breaking apart of most of his relics into smaller pieces.

8. There are two different sets of "four kinds of naturally fragrant scents" identified in Sorata's *Sumaṅgala Śabda Kōṣaya*. First, there are: 1) sandalwood (*saṅdun*), 2) camphor (*ḳapuru*), 3) saffron (*ḳokum*), and 4) frankincense (*tuvaralā*). A second list contains: 1) saffron (*ḳokum*), 2) Greek incense (*yonpup*), 3) frankincense (*tuvaralā*), and 4) very fragrant oil (*turuḳ tel*).

9. The *catumadhura* include: 1) ghee (*gītel*), 2) butter (*veṅḍaru*), 3) bee honey (*mīpäṇi*), and 4) jaggery (*haḳuru*).

10. Jīvaka is described in Theravāda literature as the renowned physician of King Bimbisāra and a faithful devotee of the Buddha. The Sāmaññaphala Sutta in *Dīgha Nikāya* describes how Jīvaka persuaded King Ajātasattu to go listen to the Buddha preach at the time he was residing with his monks in Jīvaka's mango grove. It was in this spot that Ajātasattu was first comforted and converted by the Buddha.

11. This statement implies that both the king and the Buddha belong to the *ḳṣatriya* class.

12. A *grantha* is a line or verse containing twelve syllables.

13. One *baṇavara* is equivalent to a text or recitation of 250 *grantha*s or 3,000 syllables.

14. Cf. Khantivādi Jātaka (no. 313).

15. Cf. Culladhammapāla Jātaka (no. 358).

16. Cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (no. 524).

17. The "Five Eyes" of the Buddha are said to include: 1) the bodily eye (*maṃsacaḳkhu*), 2) the divine eye (*dibbacaḳkhu*), 3) the eye of wisdom (*paññācaḳhhu*), 4) the Buddha eye (*buddhacaḳkhu*), and 5) the universal eye (*samantacaḳkhu*).

18. The *näḷi* is an ancient measure of capacity in South Asia. One source mentions that a *näḷi* (P: *nāḷi*) equals half a *doṇa* (Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle*

of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa, 41). T. W. Rhys Davids cites the Andha Commentary, where a Magadha *nāḷi* is said to equal thirteen and one-half handfuls (*pasata*s), in his *On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 19. He also notes, however, that there have been considerable variations in the ancient measurements of Sri Lanka throughout history.

19. Here the word *näḷiya* refers to the measuring vessel used by the brahmin for distributing equal shares of the relics.

20. The term "Sons of the Omniscient One" (*sarvajna putrayan vahansē*) is an epithet used to refer to Buddhist monks, who may be said to be the "sons" of the Buddha both in terms of monastic lineage and outward resemblance.

21. Although the Sinhala word *ruvan* may refer to gold, jewels, or any precious material in general, I have chosen to translate it as "gold" on the basis of the equivalent section in the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*, which lists this and the following item as *suvaṇṇakaraṇḍa* and *suvaṇṇathūpa*, respectively. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavamṃsa*, 182.

22. Although the Thūpārāma has not yet been built at this point in the narrative, tradition holds that this relic shrine contains the Right Collar Bone Relic of the Buddha and was the first one to be built in the island of Laṅkā.

23. The Four Great Treasures of Prince Siddhārtha are enumerated as: 1) the conch treasure (*saṅkha nidhāna*), 2) the fruit treasure (*phala nidhāna*), 3) the water lily treasure (*uppala nidhāna*), and 4) the lotus treasure (*puṇḍarīka nidhāna*).

6. THE STORY OF KING AŚOKA

1. This allusion to King Ajātaśatru following his karma acknowledges that his act of patricide against his father King Bimbisāra generated unripened negative fruits. The Buddha allegedly said as much in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta when, after Ajātaśatru confessed his crime of killing his father and was comforted by the Buddha, the Buddha tells his assembly of monks, "Monks, this king has been uprooted. Monks, this king is ruined. If this king, monks, did not deprive his father, the righteous king of Dhamma, of life, the stainless, undefiled Dhamma-eye would have arisen while he was in this very seat." See Davids and Carpenter, *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. 17, 86.

2. In other words, Aśoka and Tissa were born from the same mother. Therefore, Aśoka is said to have killed his stepbrothers, who were his contenders to the throne.

3. Along with the Anōtatta Lake, the Chaddanta Lake is one of the seven great lakes once thought to exist in the Himālayas.

4. A *yāḷa* is a measure of capacity roughly equivalent to a cartload or twenty *amuṇu* (Pāli: *ammaṇa*).

5. The *siṅhāsana* is the exalted term for a king's throne, which presumably resembled a lion.

6. This offering is reminiscent of the unblinking gaze that the newly awakened Buddha offered to the Bodhi Tree during the first week after attaining Enlightenment.

7. The term "lion window," which is also mentioned in Pāli literature (*sīhapañjara*), refers to a large window that could be opened and walked through in royal palaces.

8. *Caṇḍāla* is a term used to designate a low-caste or outcaste person in the Indic world.

9. The titles of Teacher and Preceptor (*ācārya upādhyāyayan vahansē*) refer to the elder monks charged with instructing a novice monk in the Dhamma and the disciplinary rules of the Sangha.

10. Cf. Norman and von Hinüber, *Dhammapada*, v. 21.

11. This sentence essentially claims that the young novice strengthened the "faith" (*śraddhā*) of those persons who had not yet arrived at one of the higher attainments leading up to nirvana (*pṛthagjana*).

12. The Fourfold Requisites refer to that which is required by a monk to sustain his life. These consist of the robe, food, a dwelling place, and medicine.

13. This number refers to the Ninefold Teaching of the Buddha (Pāli: *navaṅgabuddhasāsana*) as preserved in writing, and it includes: 1) discourses (*suttaṃ*), 2) poetry of mixed prose and verse (*geyyaṃ*), 3) exposition (*veyyākaraṇaṃ*), 4) verse (*gāthā*), 5) an emotional utterance (*udānaṃ*), 6) quotations (*itivuttakaṃ*), 7) birth stories (*jātakaṃ*), 8) marvels (*abbhutadhammaṃ*), and 9) analyses (*vedallaṃ*).

14. The two councils mentioned here are the First Council at Rājagaha and the Second Council at Vesāli, where the Theravāda tradition holds that the Vinaya Piṭaka and the Sutta Piṭaka were rehearsed and standardized.

15. This Dhammarakkhita Thera was evidently from the Yona kingdom, which is commonly identified with Bactria in western Asia or perhaps Greece.

16. The precise location of the land called Svarṇabhūmi is in dispute. Burmese tradition asserts that it refers to Mon lands in southern Burma, and thus such remarks allegedly demonstrate the antiquity of Buddhism in Burma. However, a number of scholars have suggested that this reference to Svarṇabhūmi probably refers to the land around Bengal in northeastern India.

17. The island called Laṅkādvīpa or, at times, Lakdiva refers to Sri Lanka.

18. In other words, the *thera*s who were sent to the above-mentioned countries went in groups of five, which would allow them to hold the higher ordination ceremony (Pāli: *upasampadā*) to induct new monks into the monastic order.

7. ESTABLISHING THE DISPENSATION IN LAṄKĀ

1. This quote from the Buddha is one of the few here in which he is depicted as having spoken in the Sinhala language rather than Pāli. The "five sins" correspond to the acts that are prohibited under the Five Precepts, that is to say, 1) killing living beings, 2) stealing, 3) improper sexual conduct, 4) speaking falsely, and 5) taking intoxicants.

2. The Sinhala month of Poson corresponds to the lunar month between June and July.

3. Elsewhere, the author of the *Pūjāvaliya* explains Mihiṅdu's resolution by quoting him as thinking, "The king will not recognize the appearance of monks. If I were to appear along with everyone, the king would take fright." See Ñanavimala, *Pūjāvaliya*, 763.

4. This Pāli verse is found both in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*. See, for example, Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 193.

5. The verb in this sentence shifts suddenly to the present tense.

6. This statement could be read to indicate that Buddhism was in existence in Sri Lanka before the arrival of Mahinda. E. W. Adikaram similarly argues that Mahinda's arrival in Sri Lanka led to the public and formal declaration of adherence to Buddhism, which prior to that time had existed in the island among many of its inhabitants in a more private capacity. The importance attached to Mahinda and the account of the quick conversion of the island, Adikaram argues, is less an historical fact than the legendary embellishment built up around the personage of Mahinda. See Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 51.

7. The Samacitta Sutta (Skt.: Sūtra), which appears in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* I.61–69, likewise depicts the Buddha as preaching a sermon to an assembly of gods.

8. These works refer to texts from the Pāli Canon, including the last section of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* entitled Saccasaṃyutta.

9. The Devadūta Sutta is found in both *Majjhima Nikāya* III.178 ff., and *Aṅguttara Nikāya* I.138 ff.

10. According to Malalasekera in the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, the Āsivisopama Sutta probably refers to the Āsivisa Sutta in *Saṃyutta Nikaya* IV.172 ff.

11. The "Great Park" in Mihintalā south of Anurādhapura is called the Mahāmeghavana Park in Pāli texts.

12. The Anamatagga Sutta is found in *Saṃyutta Nikāya* II.178 ff.

13. The Agghikkhandhopama Sutta is found in *Aṅguttura Nikāya*, IV.128 ff.

14. There are several Appamāda Suttas in the Pāli Canon. See, for example, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I.86, 87; II.132; V.30, 32; V.33; and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II.119f.; III.364; IV.27f.; V.21f.

15. The month of Il corresponds to the lunar month of November–December and traditionally marks the end of the *vassa*, or 'rains retreat' for monks in Sri Lanka.

16. Although the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* refers to relic shrines here in the plural *dāgap*, the Pāli version points to a single *thūpa*. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 64, 197.

17. The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* explains that Sakka [Śakra] continues to venerate the Right Tooth Relic, so the novice Sumana asks for the Right Collar Bone Relic, which presumably receives less worship. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 65, 198.

18. Apparently the elephant walked backward to the western gate while facing east, and then circled around the city to enter by the eastern gate. This is consistent with Sri Lankan tradition that holds the east, or the direction of the rising sun, to be an auspicious direction.

19. The miracle of the Collar Bone Relic appears as the result of a previous resolution that the Buddha made. The *Sinhala Bōdhivaṃsa* includes this resolution in a list of Five Great Resolutions wherein: 1) the Mahābodhi shall cut itself in order to be sent to Laṅkādvīpa, 2) six-colored rays shall emanate from the leaves and fruits of the Mahābodhi, 3) the Mahābodhi shall enter up into a cloud and remain there for a week, 4) his Right Collar Bone Relic shall perform the Twin Miracle on the day it is to be established in the Thūpārāma, and 5) a *droṇa* of his relics shall perform the Twin Miracle on the day that they are to be established in the Ruvanwäli relic shrine. See Senadhira, *Sinhala Bōdhivaṁśaya*, 220.

20. This statement should be understood as saying that the monk resided in the Mahamevunā Park in which the Thūpārāma was built. The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* specifies that Mahinda returned to the Mahāmeghavana Park and resided there during the rains retreat. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 201.

21. What appears to characterize an "act of truth" is the invocation of the moral efficacy of truth to achieve some noble purpose. In other words, the king makes use of his power of his righteousness to obtain a sapling of the Bodhi Tree without actually cutting it himself.

22. This site is called the Lohapāsāda in Pāli. The remains of this site in Anurādhapura are commonly called the Brazen Palace today.

23. This refers to a hall where the Sangha observes the *uposatha* (Sinhala: *pōya*) or full-moon day ritual of reciting the monastic disciplinary code before the monastic community.

24. In the early period of Sri Lankan history, there is evidence that the Bowl Relic functioned as a kind of national palladium along with the Tooth Relic. However, in the medieval period, literary references to the Bowl Relic become scarce, and the Tooth Relic assumes its preeminent role as the symbol of kingship over the island.

25. The *Pūjāvaliya* elaborates more upon the career of King Devanapātissa, who is said to have built 84,000 relic shrines and monastic residences, one every league, in the manner that Aśoka is credited with doing in Jambudvīpa. Owing to his immeasurable offerings, the king is said to have gone to the world of the gods upon his death. See Ñanavimala, *Pūjāvaliya*, 770.

8. THE EARLY CAREER OF KING DUṬUGÄMUṆU

1. Elsewhere, this incident is explained by the fact that the handwriting of the *thera* and that of the younger brother were similar and thus difficult to distinguish. See Vedeha, *Rasavāhinī*, 57.

2. That is to say, the *thera* entered a state of *samādhi* to determine the karmic causes for his present fate. The term *adhiṣṭhāna* here represents the attempt to discern the cause of his current situation, and not to prevent the oil from boiling. The inability of the oil to boil is instead the result of his temporary state of *samādhi*. One he rises out of his trance, the oil begins to boil.

3. The king presumably set his daughter adrift upon the ocean as an offering to appease the angry deities who flooded the kingdom.

4. The act of making the sick novice's hand touch the offering signals that he too will share in the merit. It also signals his acceptance and approval of the offering.

5. In contrast, the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* explains the novice's eventual acceptance of the queen's request by having him conclude that if he were to be born to the queen, he could be of service to the Dispensation. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 76, 207.

6. These cravings of the queen resemble omens inasmuch as they are portents of events to come. The Pāli version does not contain a comparable episode describing the queen's prescient cravings.

7. By calling the Sangha "our family deity," the king is indicating that the Sangha looks after the welfare of the family and admonishes its members for their benefit. It also implies that the royal family enjoy a special relationship with the Buddhist Sangha as a whole.

8. This is a case of folk etymology, deriving the word "Nandi" from the past participle *naddha* meaning "tied" or "harnessed."

9. Here the author of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* appears to be making a distinction between a particular group of invading Demaḷas and other Demaḷas, who are not specified and who may have already lived in the island.

10. These *bali* figures refer to clay figurines that are made for ceremonies to avert maleficent planetary influences.

11. This Twelve Thousand refers to the Ruhuṇu region in the southern part of the island, which was said to contain twelve thousand villages. I wish to acknowledge G. D. Wijayawardhana for his assistance in interpreting this statement. Additionally, the narrator continues to give folk etymologies to explain the names of the ten warriors of Duṭugämuṇu. The warrior's short stature is said to explain his name Goṭhaya, since it resembles the Sinhala word *goṭayā*, which refers to a dwarf.

12. A *kiriya* is a measure equal to four *amuṇu*s, or roughly one acre of land.

13. A cubit as measured by a carpenter (*vaḍuvā*) is roughly equivalent to one yard in length.

14. The word *ḳhañja* in the Pāli language can be translated as "lame" or "crippled." However, due to the narrative's description of Khañjadeva's great feats of strength and speed, it would seem that this is another case of folk etymology.

15. The Sinhala word *unmāda* translates as "insanity" or "madness."

16. That is to say, he practiced shooting without seeing the target.

17. An *isba* is a measure of length equal to 140 cubits, with one cubit roughly equal to one and one-half feet. Thus, one may estimate an *isba* as being equivalent to about 210 feet, and eight *isba*s measuring approximately 1,680 feet.

18. This "ticket meal" refers to the custom of having monks drawing lots to ascertain which monk or monks will receive a particular meal that has been donated to the Sangha. In this manner, the donors and the monks are excused from having to directly choose who will receive alms.

19. This brief discourse on merit not only explains the great prowess of the Ten Great Warriors individually but also illustrates the idea that past karma contributes to an individual's special abilities in the present. These brief narrative episodes detailing the karmic causes for the strength of Nandimitra and Suranimala do not appear in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Vaṃsatthapaḳāsinī*, or the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*.

20. Pāli: Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXIV.7) contains a similar etymology that refers to him as "wicked Gāmaṇī."

21. To be adorned with sixty-four crowns signifies that the king underwent a consecration ceremony during each year of his rule.

22. The answer of the *thera* reflects the contradictory position in which he finds himself. On the one hand, he is obligated to help a devotee who has come

to him for help. But on the other hand, he is unable to lie to the king-in-waiting. Historically in Sri Lanka, monasteries sometimes functioned as safe houses for fugitives from authorities who would be reluctant to dishonor the temples and monks by asserting their power and supremacy in these religious sites.

23. Such a display whereby a monk refuses to accept alms has historically carried strong symbolic weight as an expression of displeasure or protest among the monks of the Sangha. Significantly, the refusal of alms also blocks one of the most efficacious acts that lay donors perform to earn merit.

9. THE VICTORY OF KING DUṬUGÄMUṆU

1. In contrast to the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* traces the precise route that King Duṭugämuṇu travels on the way to his battles with the Demaḷa armies. This detailed geographical account of places in the island is a distinctive feature of this work.

2. The two drums listed here as the *dalaham* and *loham* are listed again in the following list of horns.

3. The epithet *dēvēndrayō* usually refers to Śakra, who is acknowledged in Sri Lankan Budhist literature as the "Lord of the Gods." In this case, when used with reference to the local deity Mahāsumana, who is associated with shrine at Śrī Pāda (or Adam's Peak), it implies a "majestic" or "lordly" god.

4. The Sinhala term used to describe the stones is *mēvan*, but there is considerable uncertainty over what it means. The word *mē* can be derived from both *megha* (cloud) and *medha* (fat). However, elsewhere in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, the word *mēvan* is likened to the reddish color of the *baṅduvada* flower, and it is reasonable to assume that the author was being consistent in his usage.

5. The toenails of an elephant are particularly sensitive areas. Mahouts will routinely use their goads against the toenails of elephants to control them.

6. This vivid description of the elephant Kaḍol's rage appears to be adapted from an account in the Sinhala text *Butsaraṇa*, wherein the elephant Nālāgiri is made to charge the Buddha. See Sorata, *Amṛtāvaha naṃ vū Butsaraṇa*, 79–80. For an illustration of this adaptation, see Berkwitz, *Buddhist History in the Vernacular*, 117–120.

7. An *isbaḳ* is roughly equivalent to 140 cubits or 210 feet.

8. This Pāli quotation is found in *Mahāvaṃsa* XXV.45–46 and the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 212.

9. This sentence may be read as identifying Eḷāra's army as having come from India. As such, the author here specifies the foreign nature of the invading army, and not the Demaḷa people in general.

10. The Sinhala word *ḳalatā* means to be stirred or mixed.

11. Neither the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* nor the *Mahāvaṃsa* specifies that the message for Bhalluka was sent to Daṁbadiva. This remark reinforces the idea that Eḷāra's force was made up of invaders from outside the island.

12. The five weapons are listed as: 1) bow, 2) sword, 3) spear, 4) club or hammer, and 5) discus.

13. The narrator here refers to the island as *siṅhalaya*, which is consistent with the traditional description of the kingdom in Laṅkā as Trisiṅhala, consisting of the three major principalities of the island, namely Rajaraṭa, Ruhuṇu, and Malaya. In contrast, the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* simply reads, "Now when the kingdom has been united, what [other] battle is there?" See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 215.

14. A *ḳalanda* is an immeasurably large number.

15. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* refers to the slain enemies as humans (*manuṣyayan*) and directly confronts the ethical questions that underlie war, wickedness, and the value of human life. This dialogue does not appear in either the *Mahāvaṃsa* or Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*, and it differs from the earlier texts by reflecting seriously upon this moral dilemma and elevating the Demaḷas from the level of "beasts" whom one need not worry about killing. Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa* XXV.110–111.

16. Unlike earlier Pāli versions of this episode, this account does not portray the monks as excusing the act of killing itself, but rather shows them trying to reassure the king that his aspiration and accumulation of merit in former births is so great that his destined rebirths in heaven and then as the chief disciple of the future Maitreya Buddha will not be undone by the killing he did in his current life. The negative effects of sin are delayed while in heaven, and although they may be visited upon him in his final human birth, his destiny as a disciple of the future Buddha virtually guarantees his eventual liberation. Thus, it is allegedly the king's merit, and not the inhumanity of his foes, that provides him with reassurance.

17. In this section, the victory spear or lance with the relic appears to refer to something more akin to a royal scepter or standard, which is the argument in Dhammavihari, *Critical Studies in the Early History of Buddhism in Sri Lanka*, 36–37, 111.

18. Here the narrator interjects with a rhetorical question to stress that the large size of the pavilion can be inferred from the size of the roof alone.

10. THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RELIC SHRINE

1. This long description of the divine maiden Bīraṇi appears to borrow a fairly standard list of flowers found elsewhere in the text. The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* gives no details about her appearance, but provides only the same description

of the palace itself. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 91, 217. However, the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXVII.11–17) includes more background on the story of the divine maiden, as well as additional descriptive material about the palace that the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* lacks.

2. The difference, if any, between these thousand chambers and the one hundred chambers on each of the nine stories mentioned directly above is unclear, aside from the discrepancy in number.

3. The god Vesavuṇu (Pāli: Vessavaṇa) is the Hindu god Vaiśravaṇa, who assumed the place as one of the four guardian deities of Sri Lanka. Traditionally Vaiśravaṇa is identified as Kuvera, the Hindu god associated with wealth.

4. These eight auspicious figures are said to include the 1) lion, 2) bull, 3) elephant, 4) filled waterpot, 5) whisk-fan, 6) flag, 7) conch or drum, and 8) lamp.

5. The Sinhala word *lō* means metal in general, but also has the more specific meanings of copper or bronze.

6. The monks described as *pṛthagjana vahansēvaru* are those who have not yet attained at least the path of the Stream-Enterer in their practice of the Buddhist path. This attainment is traditionally interpreted to mean that a person is guaranteed to attain fortunate rebirths and *nirvana* in no more than seven rebirths from the present lifetime.

7. By using King Duṭugämuṇu as a concrete example of the benefits of almsgiving, the Sinhala text supplies evidence of the fruits of merit and enjoins the audience to perform such acts. In contrast, the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* reads: "Giving away that accumulation of wealth that is abandoned when one leaves [this life], the wise thus make use of a gift and the wealth that follows it." See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 218. Thus while the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* stresses that wealth is lost when one passes away, it is more circumspect about taking merit along to one's next birth. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is even less concerned with rebirth in this particular instance, as it reads: "The wise who think, 'The accumulation of wealth is without substance [but] giving alms is especially good,' being rid of the attachment in their minds, they give alms in abundance for the highest welfare of beings" (XXVII.48).

8. These refer to the six heavens that appear in the *kāmabhava*, or "realm of sense-desires." These include, starting from the lowest heaven and proceeding upward in the Theravāda cosmological scheme: 1) the heaven belonging to the Four Guardian Kings (*catummaharājika*), 2) the heaven of the Thirty-three Gods (*tāvatiṃsa*), 3) the Yāma heaven (*yāma*), 4) the heaven of the Delighted (*tusita*), 5) the heaven of those who Delight in Their Own Creations (*nimmāna-ratin*), and 6) the heaven of those who Delight in the Creation of Others (*paranimmita-vasavattin*).

9. Also called flax flowers, they are said to be blue in color.

10. This remark appears to refer to the Ganges River, which Hindu mythology claims has fallen from the heavenly realm down to the earth at Mount Kailasa, where the god Śiva catches it in his matted hair and allows it to fall down to the ground harmlessly.

11. In other words, these novices are said to have become *arahant*s before undergoing full monastic ordination.

12. Jayawickrama notes that the conventional translation of *rasadiya* as "mercury" is unlikely here. Instead, he prefers the traditional explanation that this substance refers to "the water of the king coconut." See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 101.

13. The Eight Precepts followed by laypersons on *pōya* days typically include abstaining from: 1) taking life, 2) stealing, 3) sexual misconduct, 4) false speech, 5) intoxicants, 6) eating at improper times, 7) seeing shows and adorning oneself with garlands, perfumes, and cosmetics, and 8) high and large beds.

14. These beverages are traditionally permissible for monks to drink even after the midday fast.

15. This phrase seems to indicate that Parākrama Paṇḍita was using a written source for this information. However, such a reference to a written source does not appear in either the extant Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* or *Mahāvaṃsa*.

16. See Ariyapala's *Society in Medieval Ceylon*, 68–84, for a fine description of the ornamentation of ancient and medieval kings in Sri Lanka.

17. The goddess Sujātā appears in the Pāli commentaries as Śakra's chief consort in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

18. It is possible that these words may also refer to a gold ornament *and* a bracelet.

19. Usually meaning "sesame oil," *tel* in this context appears to refer to ghee, which is an edible product normally included with the other items mentioned in the text.

20. The *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* inserts a pun on the *thera*'s name, Siddhārtha, from which the king concludes that his goal (*artha*) will be accomplished (*siddha*).

21. The elaborate arrangements mentioned here refer to the elements that made up the ceremony for laying the first brick of the relic shrine. The performance of this ceremony under an auspicious asterism, the careful selection of young brahmins named "Well-established" to perform it, the exact arrangement of bricks and pots, and the offerings made all serve to highlight the exceptional attention given to building a relic shrine in ancient Sri Lanka, and the desire to engage in acts that would ensure its successful completion.

11. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIC CHAMBER

1. Pāli: *ammana*. A. P. Buddhadatta states in his *Concise Pali-English Dictionary* that one *ammana* is a standard measure of grain equal to about five bushels (31).

2. Only the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* specifies that this brick mason is young. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXX.8) describes him as "wise" and "accomplished," whereas the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* describes him only as "wise." See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 107, 227.

3. That is to say, the deity temporarily "possesses" the brick mason and responds to the king's question.

4. Here, in an interesting reversal of roles, the old guard instructs the *thera* on the intricacies of earning merit by encouraging him to arouse a mental state of serene joy to enhance the karmic fruitfulness of his offering.

5. This sentence appears to confirm that it is the same guard who compensated both of the *thera*s who freely donated their work to the relic shrine.

6. The implication here is that the king's strong desire for merit not only leads him to embark upon the construction of the relic shrine but also makes him insist upon paying all who contribute to its construction. Furthermore, by saying that the king acted out of desire for merit, the guard makes it incumbent upon the *thera* to accept the gifts.

7. Here the author confirms the idea that it is the intention behind the offering that counts in determining whether or not merit is accumulated, and how much is obtained. Thus the fact that the monk receives payment for his work need not compromise the merit earned through the act. Note the expansion in the narrative here compared to the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*, wherein the reason for the king's insistence on compensating all the work done on the relic shrine is left unclear. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 230.

8. The "three-tiered terrace" (*tun māl piyavasāva*) refers to the three circular platforms upon which relic shrines are commonly built in Sri Lanka.

9. Here the term *ānubhāva* refers to the psychic powers of the *arahant*s that are generated by moral conduct and meditation. The implication is that they made a mental resolution (*adhiṣṭhāna*) that the three-tiered terrace would sink.

10. The etymological derivation of *mē* is ambiguous, and can refer either to a cloud (*megha*) or to fat (*medha*). However, the author describes this color below as comparable to the color of the *baňduvada* flower (*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*), which is red in color. The *Sinhala Bodhivaṃsa* borrows this simile to describe the stones used to enclose the relic chamber of the Great Thupa: "fat-colored stones that had a reddish color similar to the color of a petal on the

baṅduvada flower." See Senadhira, *Sinhala Bōdhivaṁśaya*, 198. Moreover, in the fifteenth-century poem called the *Guttila Kāvya*, the author compares the Buddha's lower robe, which is dyed with red lac, to the same flower: "Taking the lower robe which was dyed/ With red lac like *baṅduvada* flowers,/ Shining and pleasing to the mind,/ And covering the three circles (on the body), . . ." See Gunawardhana, ed. *Guttila Kāvya Varṇanā*, v. 62. Meanwhile, the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* mentions that the two novices brought "six fat-colored stones resembling *bhandi* flowers." See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 232. Jayawickrama prefers to take *medavaṇṇa* as "gold coloured," following Geiger's interpolation that fat is golden or cream colored (5, 203). The Ven. A. P. Buddhadatta's edition of the *Mahāvaṃsa* reads: "In that instant they brought from there six cloud-colored stones (*meghavaṇṇapāsāṇe*) eight finger-breadths thick, resembling *gaṇṭhi* flowers" (XXX.59). However, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* explains that *gaṇṭhi* flowers refer to the *bandhujīvaka* flower. In his *Concise Pali-English Dictionary*, Buddhadatta gives the meaning of the *bandhujīvaka* as the China-rose plant, which is the same *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis* mentioned above.

11. The following description of artistic reminders of the Buddha's life story, including material representations of whole narrative accounts, comprises what John S. Strong has called "bioramas" or the visual depictions of the Buddha's biography that are sometimes enshrined along with relics of his body. See Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 6.

12. The *sirivasa* can refer to an hourglass-shaped drum, but here it appears to refer to a similarly shaped mark of two triangles overlapping vertically at their tips. Sorata mentions in *Śrī Sumaṅgala Śabdakoṣaya* that the *sirivasa* is one of the marks on the feet of the Buddha, the mark on the chest of Viṣṇu, and is sometimes included in the list of the Eight Auspicious Marks.

13. The tuft of whitish hair on the forehead of the Buddha has traditionally been regarded as one of the Thirty-two Marks of a Great Person.

14. The following descriptions of scenes from the Buddha's life story are notable since they were not included in the narrative earlier. By mentioning them here, the author fills in the parts relating to his career after attaining Buddhahood and before his death.

15. Parākrama Paṇḍita suggests that it was pig meat (*sūkara maddavaya*), rather than mushrooms, that led to the Buddha's death. Whereas the traditional Pāli account of this event is somewhat ambiguous, the Sinhala account clearly identifies the kind of tainted food that made the Buddha sick.

16. Again, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* provides a longer and more detailed description of the images made and enshrined in the relic chamber of the Great Relic Shrine. The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*, by contrast, adheres closely to the more concise description found in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXX.86–87). The additional

descriptive elements found in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* not only recall the longer narratives from which they are excerpted but also serve to identify which parts of the narrative are deemed to be of special importance to the author of the text.

17. The implication here is that the Bodhisattva explained that his children are invaluable to him.

18. This element in the narrative illustrates how the god Śakra, as a devotee of the Buddha, intervenes to assist the future Buddha in giving away the children dear to him and perfecting the virtue of giving.

19. Madridēvī's abrupt change of heart represents her devotion to the will of her husband and also her estimation of the virtue of giving. Whereas up to this point the narrative displays the great love and grief of a mother who loses her children, the narrator then depicts the Bodhisattva's act of giving away the children Jāliya and Kṛṣṇajinā as a justifiable moral act that pleases her.

20. It is significant that the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* renarrates the Vessantara Jātaka at length in describing some of the reliefs and decorations deposited by the king in the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa. This section is longer and more detailed than even the previous account of the life of the Buddha. By contrast, the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* offers an account of the Vessantara Jātaka that is considerably shorter in length. See, for example, Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 234. Moreover, note that the account in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is even briefer: "Also he had the Vessantara Jātaka made in detail" (XXX.88). Thus it would appear that the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* presents a shift in intention from simply noting what treasures were left in the relic chamber to retelling the basic narrative of the Vessantara Jātaka in order to promote reflection on the virtues and sacrifices of the Bodhisattva in the past. For a discussion of this theme in Buddhist *vaṃsa*s more generally, see Berkwitz, "History and Gratitude in Theravāda Buddhism," 590–592.

21. This refers to the thirty-two deities who are headed by Śakra in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. Formerly, according to tradition, they were the "Happy Band" (Pāli: *bhaddavaggiya*) who were among the earliest lay devotees of the Buddha.

22. The Ādānatiya Sutta in the *Pirit Pota* mentions twenty-eight *yakḳha*s, yet enumerates more than thirty such beings. The remark here in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* may refer to these very *yakḳha*s.

23. King Bhātikābhaya is thought to have ruled Laṅkā in approximately 38–66 CE.

24. Both *idda* and jasmine flowers are characteristically used for making offerings to the Buddha.

25. A variant reading substitutes *taṭuven taṭuva* (petal by petal) for *naṭuven naṭuva*.

26. There is no hint as to what kind of machine was used to fetch water. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is equally vague on this measure: "Having water brought up by a machine from the Abhaya Tank . . ." (XXXIV.45).

27. The text literally reads "mercury" (*rasadiya*), but this meaning is doubtful.

28. This lengthy account of the offerings made by a later king represents an embellishment of a shorter account found in *Mahāvaṃsa* XXXIV.40–48. Interestingly, a comparable description is absent from the extant Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* of Vācissara.

29. This appellation supports the traditional claim that Sri Lankan kings were the descendants of the same royal Sakya clan as the Buddha. The second chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa* supplies the lineage (*vaṃsa*) of King Mahāsammata and connects the Buddha to this lineage: "In the unbroken lineage of Mahāsammata, the Great Sage was born in succession at the head of all rulers" (XX.23).

30. The reciting or chanting of the Dhamma without any particular audience may signify that the alleged *arahant*s were actually chanting protective *pirit* verses.

31. The sentence *svāmīni dhātugarbhayehi ananta vū pūjābhāṇḍa yayi kīha* is another example where colloquial structures were introduced into the dialogical portions of the narrative. In this case, there is the absence of an overt verb of existence. It seems likely that such colloquialisms, which are consistently found in dialogues throughout the text, were inserted for reasons of style and to reproduce the sound of the language as it was spoken. I wish to thank W. S. Karunatillake for pointing this out to me.

32. Jayawickrama suggests that this *sutta* is the Tathāgatasīhanāda Sutta in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iii.417 ff.

33. In Pāli, this discourse refers to the Sakkapañhā Sutta, which is found in *Dīgha Nikāya*.

34. Both the Sinhala and Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*s employ a story from the *Vaṃsatthappakasinī* that attempts to prove the possibility of fitting an endless number of objects into a limited space by referring to an analogous canonical account. By portraying the king (who is identified as King Vasabha [124–168 CE] by Jayawickrama) as a skeptic and refuting his doubts within the narrative, the authors use a rhetorical strategy to refute the same doubt that could be held by members of their respective audiences.

35. This statement represents an unusual comment upon the power of the king. Normally psychic powers are reserved for monastics who have attained the Higher Knowledges, or otherwise nonhuman forms such as gods and *nāga*s. The explanation given for King Duṭugämuṇu's psychic powers is provided below, where it is claimed that his fulfillment of the perfections generated great power.

36. The offering of the white parasol to the Sangha is a symbolic gesture indicating that the Sangha is sovereign in the king's realm.

12. THE RELIC DEPOSIT

1. This curious addition to the king's retinue does not appear in either the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* or the *Mahāvaṃsa*. It may be that *ḳurun ḳudun* was intended to refer to the palace attendants who served the king.

2. This is a close Sinhala paraphrase of the Pāli quote found in *Mahāvaṃsa* XXXI.60. The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* also cites and quotes this same verse. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 242.

3. That is to say, the *nāga* king and his *nāga* subjects are incapable of fully understanding the Dharma in the way that humans are capable of doing.

4. Phrased differently, this statement suggests that the veneration of relics can prevent a rebirth in the four negative realms of *asura*s, *preta*s, animals, and hells, and thus leads people along toward nirvana like the largest road in a kingdom upon which people travel.

5. This passage refers to the *nāga* king Mucalinda who, as tradition has it, sheltered the newly awakened Buddha from a storm while he was meditating.

6. This lengthy speech skillfully manipulates reason and emotion in support of claims for the efficacy of relic veneration and the generation of compassion for others. As such, this passage represents a considerable elaboration of the account which appears in the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*: "And lamenting, they spoke thus to the monastic community. 'Venerable Sirs! Why did you take away, without leaving any remaining, the relics which have long been cared for by us and obtained by the power of our merit without causing hardship to anyone? You are making an obstacle to our heaven and release'" (244). The *Mahāvaṃsa*, as one might expect, contains an even briefer passage: "While lamenting, the *nāga*s, having come before the Sangha, lamented in various ways, and grieved over the removal of the relics" (XXXI.73).

7. Note that the *nāga* king Mahākāḷa is the panegyrist said to have sung songs of praise when the Buddha first became enlightened. He thus differs from the *nāga* king Mahakeḷa who was formerly in possession of the relics.

8. The five points of the body include the two knees, the two elbows, and forehead. This action represents a full prostration.

9. The four ethical practices of purity comprise: 1) the *paṭimokḳha* rules for monastics, 2) the restraint of the senses, 3) purity of livelihood, and 4) the correct use of the requisites.

10. This description of the command of the Buddha closely reflects the classic organization of the Noble Eightfold Path in terms of *sīla* (morality),

samādhi (concentration), and *paññā* (wisdom). The author then overlays the imagery of kingship to suggest the glory and power attained by the Buddha.

11. Here the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* quotes the first two marks of a "Great Being" (Pāli: *mahāpurisa*) as found in the Lakkhaṇa Sutta in Davids and Carpenter, *Dīgha Nikāya* I.30.

12. At this point the narrator abruptly interrupts the narrative by posing a rhetorical question directly to the audience. As such, this part of the narrative resembles the verbal style of a sermon.

13. THE DEATH OF KING DUṬUGÄMUṆU

1. That is to say, relatives and friends are those who assist one most in the efforts to attain a better rebirth. This may point both to the idea that keeping good company enhances one's virtuous qualities and conduct, and the idea that relatives and friends perform merit and transfer it on one's behalf. This brief commentary on kinship and friendship does not appear in either the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* or the *Mahāvaṃsa*. In addition, the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* describes the interaction between the two brothers in a markedly more affectionate tone than the other texts.

2. Here the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* makes a distinction between two kinds of enemies: the defilements, which the king has overcome as a pious Buddhist, and death or Māra, to which everyone including him must succumb. In other words, Theraputtābhaya comforts the king by affirming that he will not be reborn in a condition lower than a human, and that he is destined to attain nirvana in the future.

3. This list describes the first king of the present world-period named Mahāsammata, and the three kings in his lineage that were said to have succeeded him.

4. The story of Jōtiya (or Jotika), the treasurer of Rājagaha. who had measureless wealth that he gave up to become a monk and subsequently an *arahant*, is found in the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*.

5. The story of Mendaka is found in various places in the Pāli Canon and its commentaries, but he is generally described as one who obtained great wealth due to good deeds performed in the past.

6. Pāli: Vasudeva and Baladeva. These names refer to two of the ten brothers who are mentioned in the *Jātaka* as very strong brigands who became the kings of Jambudīpa before succumbing to violent deaths.

7. This *pinkiriyavat* is synonymous with the *pinpota*, or "merit-book," which Sri Lankan Buddhists traditionally kept and had recited during their last moments. Again, the rationale for this practice is the idea that

encouraging positive mental states and confidence in one's good deeds will aid in obtaining a good rebirth in the next lifetime.

8. Karunatillake's edition reads *ekānū keḷak* or ninety-one crores, but this appears to be incorrect. Saraṇaṅkara's edition of the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* specifies that the king spent nineteen crores of wealth on the Mirisavāṭi Monastery, which is consistent with what is found in the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa*. See also Saraṇaṅkara, *Sitiyaṁ sahita Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*, 209; and Gamlat, *Thūpavaṃsaya*, 234.

9. This detail and the following descriptions of gifts given to pregnant women, midwives, elephants, and working bullocks are not mentioned in either the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* or the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

10. Note that the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* refers to the people whom the king arranged to recite the doctrine as "Dhamma-preachers" (*dhammadesaka* and *dhammakathika*) and recounts how the king gave ghee, molasses, jaggery, licorice, and robes to each one. See Jayawickrama, *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, 251. In contrast, Parākrama Paṇḍita broadens this category to "pandits," which not coincidentally includes himself. While the gifts specified in the Pāli version are items commonly given to monks, the "wages" (*divel*), "livelihood" (*vāṭup*), and "expenditures" (*viyadaṁ*) mentioned in the *Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa* are clearly items to be given to lay scholars.

11. The implication here is that merit done in a state of wealth and comfort is less pleasing to the king because it was less of a sacrifice. By this the author implicitly maintains that the size or value of a gift given as alms to the Triple Gem is irrelevant to the merit earned from such an act.

12. The Pāli name of this mountain is Samāntakūṭa, which is one of the names given to the well-known pilgrimage site in Sri Lanka called Śrī Pada or Adam's Peak whereupon the sacred footprint relic of the Buddha is allegedly found.

13. Offerings of instruments such as drums signify music offered in honor of the Buddha's relics.

14. According to Buddhist thought, the gods constitute a class of beings believed to arise fully formed and developed without any gestation or maturation period.

15. This direct exhortation from the king, who has been newly reborn as a deity, is not found in either the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* or the *Mahāvaṃsa*. As such it represents another interpolation by the author made for the sake of enjoining the audience to perform meritorious acts.

EPILOGUE

1. The disciple on the right side of the Buddha is a euphemism for his chief disciple. Note that the *Pūjāvaliya* specifies that Duṭugämuṇu made an

aspiration to become the future Buddha's chief disciple before he dies. See Ñanavimala, *Pūjāvaliya*, 773.

2. This stock ending, which is found in many Buddhist manuscripts from Sri Lanka, functions as a sort of benedictory blessing for the accomplishment of all religious aims.

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